

# *The Musical Quarterly*

O. G. SONNECK, *Editor*

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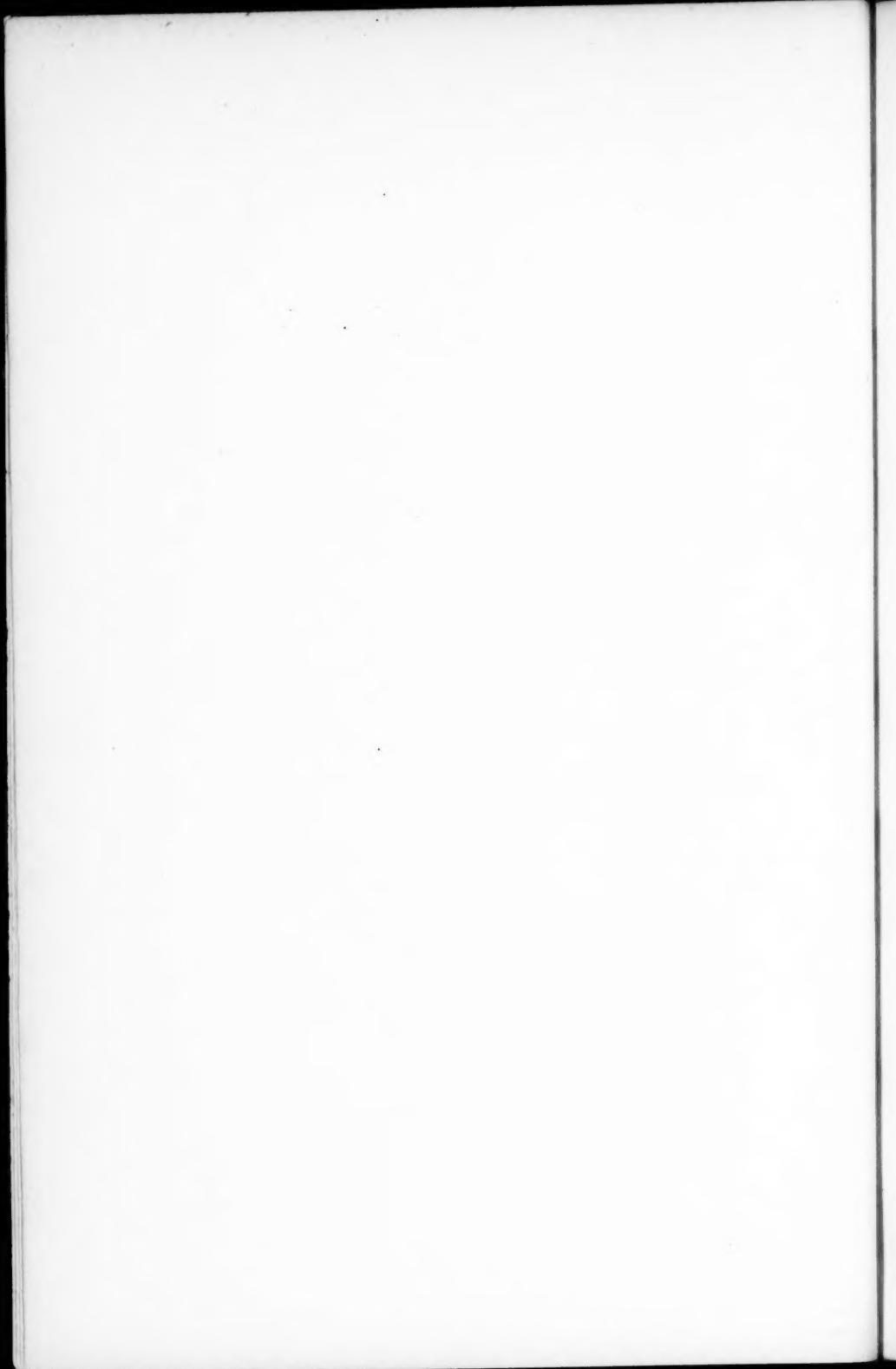
**TABLE OF CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS**

**Vol. III, 1917**

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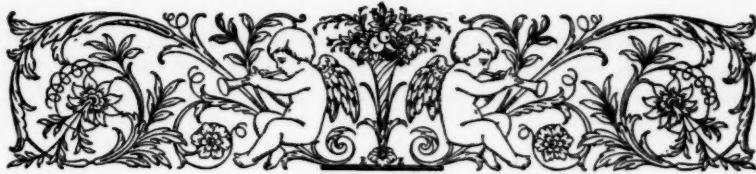
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**THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY**





# THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

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## TASTE IN MUSIC

By LAWRENCE GILMAN

**I**F all discussions of taste are relatively unavailing, it is especially futile to discuss Taste in Music; because, in a sense, that there is no such thing. I mean by Taste, of course, that instinctive perception of æsthetic excellence which, in the case of a man of literary inclinations, will inevitably dispose him toward M. Rolland's *Jean-Christophe* and as inevitably indispose him toward Mrs. Glyn's *Three Weeks*. And there at once I have indicated, I think, the singular extent to which the art of music, in this as in all respects, stands apart from the other arts.

When you speak of Taste in Literature, or Taste in Painting, or Taste in Drama, you imply a general and instinctive recognition of conformity to an ascertainable ideal. Among connoisseurs of literary art there would be no dissent from the judgement that places among the excelling achievements of poetic inspiration such a thing as this:

Death, that hath sucked the honey of thy breath. . .

or such a thing as this:

He hath awakened from the dream of life. . .

or this:

The sunrise blooms and withers on the hill  
Like any hill-flower; and the noblest troth  
Dies here to dust. . .

or this:

Brightness falls from the air,  
Queens have died young and fair,  
Dust hath closed Helen's eye. . .

It is as certain that any man of æsthetic discernment, loving poetry, will recognize and avow the excellence of such things as those, as it is certain that he will instinctively reject such a thing as this:

I've measured it from side to side,  
'Tis three feet long and two feet wide. . .

even though it was written by a poet of incontestable genius. As for the arts of painting and sculpture, even those redoubtable oracles, the prophets and priests of Futurism, have been known to admit that Mr. Whistler's portrait of his mother is meritorious, and that *Le Baiser* of M. Rodin is a noteworthy piece of modeling.

In all the arts save the art of music, we are, in this matter of taste, dealing with a faculty whose operations are normally predictable. For example, you would have no doubt whatever that Mr. W. D. Howells, who notoriously detests romanticism and prefers what he calls "intensive fiction," would nevertheless concede that *Don Quixote* is a great work. And so he does, quite candidly, in a recent essay, even though he anesthetizes his conscience by contending that Cervantes' novel is "composed of agglutinated episodes which are separately of the intensive method." I am convinced, further, that Mr. Howells, who does not love George Meredith, and who inhospitably omitted Diana Warwick and Clara Middleton, Rhoda Fleming and Rose Jocelyn, Carinthia Kirby and Nataly Radnor from his *Heroines of Fiction*, would grant that the love scene between Lucy and Richard Feveral is scarcely to be paralleled, for tenderness and lyric beauty, in English fiction. I am equally certain that Matthew Arnold would have praised the grasp of character, the tragic poignancy, and the terrible veraciousness of Edgar Lee Masters' *Spoon River Anthology*, though he would probably have gagged a little upon finding such a line as:

Watch out, the potatoes are burning!

in a piece of serious verse, and would, I fancy, have preferred to regard Mr. Masters as a compendious fictionist rather than as a poet. And it is salutary to recall that Pater admired the art with which *Henry Esmond* is composed, though it was written by a man who, in every respect but expressional mastery, differed from himself as does buttermilk from burgundy. I am not forgetting that Swinburne said of Euripides that he was, in comparison with John Webster, "as a mutilated monkey to a well-made

man." But I shall not seek to escape from the apparently damaging effect of that instance by remarking that Swinburne as a critic was violent, venomous, and irresponsible; for it is of course undeniable that men of high critical capacity and penetrating vision have failed to perceive excellences in the work of poets, dramatists, painters, fictionists. My point is that, in respect of these arts, men of sensitive perception and fine æsthetic breeding exhibit, normally, a unanimity of judgement for which we shall seek in vain among connoisseurs of the art of music.

Whenever I think of taste in music, whenever I hear people talk with vague complacence about standards and absolutes as applied to the art of music, several disturbing memories rise to the surface of my mind. I think, first, of that gallant and lamented fighter, the late John F. Runciman, viewing *Parsifal* with a coldly contemptuous eye and concluding that the music is "decrepit stuff"—"the last sad quaverings of a beloved friend." On the other hand, I remember Mr. Ernest Newman telling us that this score is "marvellous"—"in many ways the most wonderful and impressive thing ever done in music." Secondly, I think of Mr. George Bernard Shaw (a reformed but once shameless critic of music) regarding with angry disapproval what many of us have long supposed to be an exalted and beautiful theme: the rapturous melody, first heard in *Die Walküre* at Sieglinde's words, "O hehrestes Wunder, Herrlichste Maid!" which recurs in *Götterdämmerung* toward the end of Brünnhilde's valedictory. Mr. Runciman once spoke of this melody as representing "the great lyrical Wagner"; but Mr. Shaw has no use for it at all: in his view, "it might easily be the climax of a popular sentimental ballad;" it is not only "trumpery," but "the most trumpery theme in the entire *Tetralogy*"—as if trumpery themes were common and abundant in *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. Thirdly, I remember that Vernon Blackburn (like Mr. Runciman, alas! a missing figure—one who could ill be spared—from the critical ranks) regarded Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius* as the finest musical work since Wagner, but that Mr. George Moore, who can write shrewdly of music, dismissed it briefly as "holy water in a German beer-barrel." I remember, further, that Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* is considered by Mr. H. E. Krehbiel a score of which "nine-tenths is a dreary monotony," whereas M. Louis Laloy is stirred by it to hushed and reverent emotion. I remember that the love which Mr. Henry T. Finck bears for *Carmen* is paralleled in its intensity by the scorn that M. Jean Marnold heaps upon Bizet's masterpiece. I remember that M. Pierre Lalo said of Debussy's *La Mer*

that the odor of the sea-wind was less perceptible in it than the smell of the lamp on Debussy's desk, while Mr. Philip Hale wrote of it with poetic fervor; that Mr. W. J. Henderson is cool in the presence of Strauss's *Don Quixote*, and that Mr. James Huneker is not.

My reflection upon all this leads me to the unsettling conclusion that here are connoisseurs of music (public commentators necessarily, for purposes of exhibition, since private commentators are unrecorded in history)—men of sensitive and developed perception, of ample culture, of wide aesthetic experience—reacting, in the presence of modern classics and important contemporary works that are still *sub judice*, as if there were no such things as ascertainable standards of judgement; no such things as recognized conceptions of ideal excellence; no such things as touchstones: and, indeed, in relation to the art of music, there obviously are not.

It cannot be said that these startlingly divergent judgements, these grotesquely opposed estimations, these amazing conflicts of appraisal, are due either to a lack of perspective caused by the temporal proximity of the works under discussion, or to an inherent and confusing strangeness of character. *Parsifal* and *Götterdämmerung* and *Carmen* have been before us for more than a generation: they are already classics. *The Dream of Gerontius* is in the long-familiar Wagnerian tradition; and *Don Quixote* and *Pelléas et Mélisande* and *La Mer* had been prefigured for a decade, so far as the character of their musical substance is concerned, in the earlier works of their authors. I am discussing something more subtle and baffling than the reaction of criticism to dislocating musical innovations—to such musical Futurism as is represented by the later performances of Schönberg and Stravinsky and Ornstein. My special perplexity arises from contemplation of the fact that musical taste—aside from obviously conventional attitudes of veneration and mere fetish-worship—has apparently not yet evolved any workable criteria of appraisement.

This lack is peculiar to music, as I have tried to indicate. Contradictory estimates, of course, are inevitable in the critical evaluation of any art—even such wonted phenomena as M. Maeterlinck and Mr. Henry James, for example, are still somewhat discordantly regarded; and aesthetic controversy is eternal. But neither literary nor artistic taste exhibits anything comparable to the astonishing lack of orientation that is characteristic of musical appreciation. It is impossible to conceive of literary or dramatic criticism being so hopelessly at sea regarding the true status of

*The Ring and the Book* or *The Weavers* as musical criticism is, for example, in the face of *Parsifal*. Is this music "decrepit stuff" or is it "wonderful and impressive"? It is impossible to say. There is no means, apparently, of finding out. It is easy to determine the value of *The Weavers*. Its qualities may be ascertained and appraised by any observer of intellectual and emotional sensibility. But how is an observer of intellectual and emotional sensibility to know that he has correctly gauged the value of the music of *Parsifal*? If he rates it as a thing of unique and marvellous beauty he will be conscious of the reproachful wraith of Mr. Runciman, and he will also have Mr. James Huneker (surely a formidable antagonist) on his back. If he condemns it, he will have to reckon with that learned and upright judge, Mr. Ernest Newman. Where, then, shall he obtain aid and comfort?

It may be that he will turn for guidance to Mr. Henderson's admirable treatise, *What is Good Music?*—a book that is not only enlightening but deeply enjoyable. He will find there these sentences, in which the italics are mine: "The essential qualities of greatness in a musical subject are not to be described. *The loftiness of their thought commands an immediate recognition from the cultured mind, and that recognition, by force of habit, becomes immediate and almost instinctive.*" But what happens to this comforting assurance in the case of *Parsifal* and Messrs. Runciman, Newman, Huneker, and Mr. Henderson himself?—for he has written with enthusiasm of *Parsifal*. If "loftiness of musical thought" commands, as he says, "an immediate recognition from the cultured mind," we are confronted, in this case, by embarrassing alternatives: Either the musical thought of *Parsifal* is indubitably lofty, and the minds of Mr. Runciman and Mr. Huneker were not cultivated enough to recognize it; or else the musical thought of *Parsifal* is not lofty, and Mr. Newman and Mr. Henderson fail to recognize decrepit stuff when they hear it. There are difficulties involved in either conclusion, and I can only wish that Mr. Henderson had verified his delusive assurances by some such concrete and practical test as I have had to put them to.

It will be remembered that Stevenson in his essay on Style selects for particular celebration that sentence from Milton beginning:

I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed. . . . .

No one with a sense of the euphony of harmonized syllables and deftly adjusted rhythms could read that haunting sentence

without recognizing its high qualities of beauty and distinction and its perfect art. Now what is it that would certainly prevent a similar unanimity of response if Stevenson had been a connoisseur of music instead of literature, and, in a discourse upon Style in Music, had chosen to exhibit, as an example of the perfect contrivance of musical beauty, that famous melody from *Götterdämmerung* to which I have before alluded? Indisputably Wagner is a great master—a greater artist, exerting a more powerful and fecund genius, I believe, than even Milton; yet if a Stevenson turned musical æsthetician had exhibited that melody from *Götterdämmerung*, would he have persuaded Mr. Shaw? We know that he would not. I have no intention of implying that it would be essential to persuade Mr. Shaw, or that it would be calamitous for the art of music not to do so. I use Mr. Shaw merely as a convenient symbol: he stands for those dissenters who counteract the response of the musically susceptible—or who, it may conceivably be, exercise a finer discrimination; for to be bigoted in this matter is to yield the whole case.

It is a good many years since Matthew Arnold told us how to detect poetic excellence by the application of touchstones: "For discovering what poetry belongs to the class of the truly excellent," he advised, we are to have always in mind "lines and expressions of the great masters, and to apply them as a touchstone to other poetry." Of course, he continues, "we are not to require this other poetry to resemble them; it may be very dissimilar. But if we have any tact, we shall find them, when we have lodged them well in our minds, an infallible touchstone for detecting the presence or absence of high poetic quality, and also the degree of this quality, in all other poetry which we may place beside them." Then followed the famous citations from the *Iliad*, from the *Inferno* and the *Paradiso*, from *Henry IV*, from *Hamlet*, from Milton; and we were assured that if we were thoroughly penetrated by the power of these examples, we should find "that we have acquired a sense enabling us, whatever poetry may be laid before us, to feel the degree in which a high poetical quality is present or wanting there." Critics, said the admirable Victorian, "give themselves great labor to draw out what in the abstract constitutes the characters of a high quality of poetry. It is much better to have recourse to concrete examples—to take specimens of poetry of the high, the very highest quality, and to say: 'The characters of a high quality of poetry are what is expressed there.' "

It would seem as if these principles, or something like them, might serve us in the estimation of music. For what, precisely, is a touchstone? It is something, says the Century Dictionary, used "for ascertaining the fineness of gold." You would suppose, then, that Arnold's famous expedient might be employed for the ascertainment of quality in music—you would suppose that, by holding before your mind the quality possessed by the opening melody of the Adagio of the Choral Symphony, the quality of the theme of Schubert's *Der Tod und das Mädchen*, or the quality of Siegfried's Hero motive from *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, and applying this composite touchstone to, let us say, *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*, you could detect the presence or absence of high musical excellence in Debussy's prelude. But you have only to try this to perceive at once that the scheme will not work. The rules of the game as laid down by Arnold may have been faithfully observed; but, as the little lad observed of the interminably loquacious anti-suffragist, we "don't seem to go somewhere." The truth is that you could no more test the quality of *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* by referring it back to the quality which, according to our poetic analogy, should belong in common to the classic examples from Beethoven, Schubert and Wagner, than a blind man could discover whether a woman were beautiful by ascertaining how many lumps of sugar her grandmother took in her tea. The touchstone expedient, as applied to music, is not workable. It simply does not apply. As Arnold recommended and employed it for the critical examination of poetry, it is admirably effectual. There is undoubtedly an accent of style, a distinguishing character, a community of excellence, which binds together the classic instances that Arnold chose out of Homer and Dante, Shakespeare and Milton; and a sense of this quality will help us to ascertain what other poetry belongs to "the class of the very best." But how will it profit us to hold in our minds the quality of the Adagio theme from the Choral Symphony, and of the theme from Schubert's song, and of the Siegfried motive from the *Ring*, while we are studying *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*? These themes are among the great ones of music; but they are only in our way when we are trying to arrive at a just valuation of Debussy's tone-poem—indeed, we can estimate justly a new and original deliverance only by forgetting how Beethoven or Schubert or Wagner or anyone else would have uttered it, and by trying to think and feel ourselves into the particular region of the heavens inhabited by the potential Olympian. Only thus can we see him steadily and see him whole.

And even then, we shall often fail in justice and delicacy of vision. Our gods shall not be our neighbors' gods, nor will their gods be ours. We shall continue to extol that which is inferior, and disparage that which was conceived in beauty. Many a sunrise will bloom upon the hill whilst we remain dully sleeping; or we shall hail, deluded, many a false dawn. For there is nothing to guide us. We are wanderers in a mysterious and enchanted world, that is more baffling and unknowable, it may be, than those nearer worlds in which are the kingdoms of poetry and art and drama, because in it one breathes a rarer quality of spiritual air: because it is a little closer to that invisible world of which, said Sir Thomas Browne, "this visible world is but a picture. . . . wherein, as in a portrait, things are not truly but in equivocal shapes, and as they counterfeit some more real substance in that invisible fabric."

It was J. W. Mackail, I think, who said that no one of us, looking back, ever regrets his young enthusiasms; it is the enthusiasms we did not have that we regret. And I remember a profound and exquisite seer telling us not long ago that ballast is to be found everywhere—that all the sand on the beach, all the rocks in the harbour, will serve for it—but that sails are rare and precious things. And something of that sail-like, that wind-blown quality of the spirit is required if we are to navigate the perilous and haunted seas of that strange world in which we, uncertain and blindly worshipping followers of the most august and aloof of the Queens of Beauty, are explorers following an eternal dream.

## THE ENGLISH THEATRE ORCHESTRA: ITS RISE AND EARLY CHARACTERISTICS

By W. J. LAWRENCE

No longeuous word incorporated from a dead language into a living one has been tortured into so many meanings as the word *orchestra*. It is the very Wandering Jew of vocables. But the great diversity of interpretations it has borne throughout its remarkably long career affords no warrant to the musico-dramatic historian, with any pretensions toward scientific exactitude, for its slipshod use. Instances of the employment of the term in its current meaning in a highly anachronistic way come readily to mind. There is, for example, a sentence in Dr. George Brandes' *William Shakespeare*, which not only errs in this respect but abounds in inaccuracy of statement:

At the Globe theatre the orchestra was placed in the upper proscenium box on the right; it was the largest in London, consisting of 10 performers, all distinguished in their several lines, playing lutes, oboes, trumpets and drums.

One might just as well argue that when *The Castle of Perseverance* was performed in the open, *circa* 1470, the orchestra was already in existence, basing one's statement on the fact that when Humanum Genus was foolish enough to make choice of the Bad Angel for his guardian, "the mynstrells," according to an old stage direction, were expected to "pipe up" in order to draw attention to the grave blunder he had committed. The truth is—and it is quite time the point should be fully demonstrated—that, while music and the drama have always been closely associated and no primitive modern playhouse but had its musicians,<sup>1</sup> the theatre orchestra, as we know it, is purely the child of Opera. The period of its origin can be closely approximated by the fact that its designation applied in the beginning to a particular locality, and not, as was afterwards brought about by a natural process of metonymy, to the musicians who occupied that locality.

<sup>1</sup>It should be recalled that, long before specialization of function set in, many of the players were sound musicians and provided their own accompaniments. Even down to the close of the seventeenth century the Italian comedians of Paris were expert lutenists.

In the original Greek the word *orchestra* meant "the dancing-place" and signified that space of lowest level between actors and audience where the chorus performed its evolutions to a musical accompaniment.

Musico-dramatic historians, having failed to grasp the importance of the event, have made no attempt to determine the moment in the early days of Opera when the musicians were removed from their obstructive position behind the scenes and placed in an enclosure along the parapet of the stage. When we come to consider that practical instrumentation only became possible with this change, that with the establishment of the orchestra there was glimmering recognition of it as a separate, if co-operative, entity—something which of itself added to the sum total of artificially aroused emotions—this neglect seems all the more reprehensible. So much stress has been laid upon Monteverdi's innovative genius as the Father of Instrumentation that the way has insidiously been paved for us to draw the inference that he was the first to place the musicians in their now familiar position. But that assumption remains unwarranted by the evidence. When we read that in *Arianna*, in 1608, Monteverdi employed the large number of 36 instruments, we fail to see how so considerable a body of musicians could have been grouped together behind the scenes, and our imagination at once establishes the first orchestra. This reasoning is fallacious. It overlooks the fact that in Monteverdi's early operas the necessity for arraying the players in close order was precluded. Certain instruments were reserved for the accompaniment of certain voices, and it was only in an occasional chorus that all the instruments were employed. Hence the musicians could have been readily accommodated on scaffolds erected behind the side-scenes, a system which, as we shall see presently, was then commonly practised.

It is requisite also to recognize that in the early days of Opera, before music-lovers became surfeited with the magic and marvels of classic mythology and began to clamor for historical themes, the persistence of a not ungrateful stage convention, which had been a prime characteristic of the intermedi, obviated for long the necessity of an orchestra. In the intermedi of the latter half of the sixteenth century every scene was self-contained and presented its own individual music, the musicians being virtually figurantes and appropriately dressed in harmony with the action. As often as not they were seen playing on clouds during the descent to earth of some divinity. Moreover, as is to be noted in the intermedi of *La Cofanaria*, given at Florence in

1565, singers and dancers occasionally played their own accompaniments.

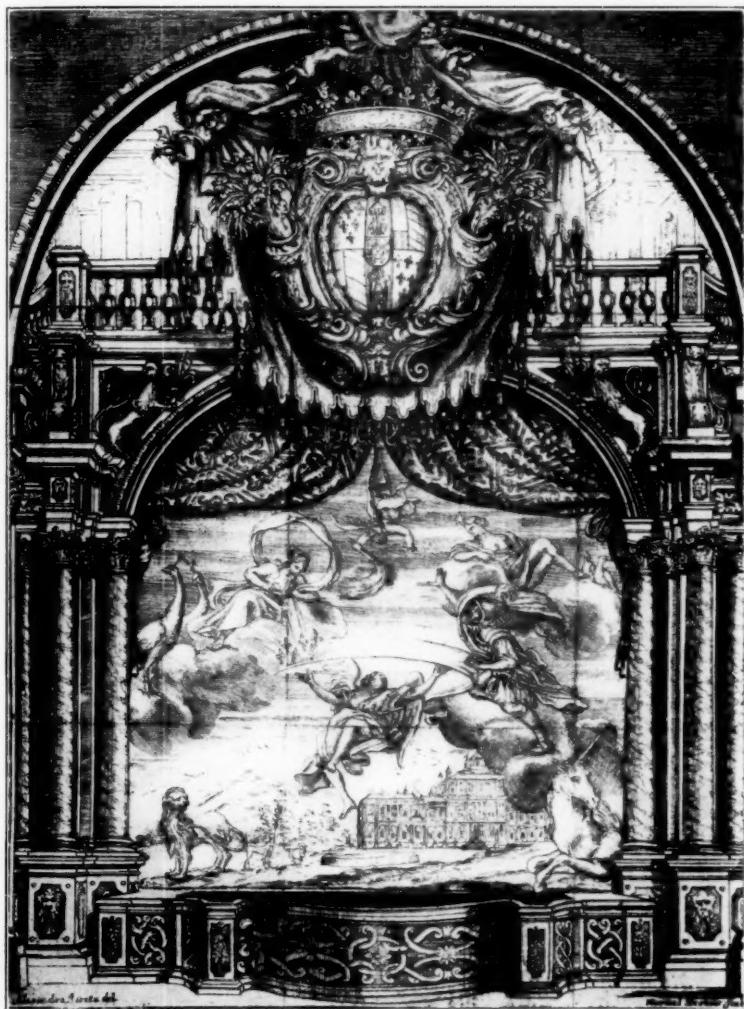
If, then, there were no pressing problems of instrumentation in Monteverdi's day whose solution imperatively demanded the establishment of the orchestra, to what inspiring cause are we to attribute its origin? Some one has argued that the site was chosen because it was equally good for hearing in all parts and because there the music is rarely overpowering to the singer, who throws his voice over it. But the Italian musicians of the early seventeenth century, like the English, had a predilection for an elevated position, and nothing short of sheer expediency could have overcome their distaste for being sunk in the depths. My own opinion is that the principle of the orchestra was first established in 1637 with the opening of the Teatro di San Cassiano, the first public Opera-house, in Venice. Questions of ways and means would have necessitated this arrangement. Baroque opera was nothing if not spectacular: it demanded a considerable variety of readily changeable scenery and much elaborate stage mechanism. Under these conditions, the presence of numerous musicians and their impedimenta in the regions behind, however suffered in the earlier days of private representation, was "most tolerable and not to be endured."

One reason why I have arrived at this conclusion is that in the *Practica di fabricar Scene e Machine ne' Teatri* of Nicola Sabbatini, a curious manual of instruction issued at Ravenna in 1638, and dealing only with the construction of temporary theatres for private performances, no clue to the existence of the orchestra occurs in the section on "Come si debbano accomodare i Musici," (Lib. I, Cap. 36) or elsewhere throughout the book. Sabbatini knows only of two methods of accommodating the musicians. In the first he places them in the auditorium in elevated boxes adorned with balustrades and lattice-work, one on either side of the proscenium front. This was probably the method adopted in ordinary drama and was seen as far back as 1513, when Bibbiena's epoch-marking (because mode-setting) comedy, *La Calandra*, first saw the light at Urbino. In the second method, which in all likelihood was the method followed in private operatic performances, elevated scaffolds for the musicians were ranged behind the side-scenes on both sides and extended from the front wings to the back wall. These scaffolds were made as high as possible so that room might be provided for passing beneath them. Care had to be taken that none of their supports rested on or even touched the stage, otherwise the bounding of the dancers would

have seriously discomposed the organ-players and others. The supporting beams had the floor of the hall for base and passed through large roomy holes cut in the stage. If this was the alternative, can we wonder that the promoters of the first Venetian Opera-houses preferred the principle of the orchestra?

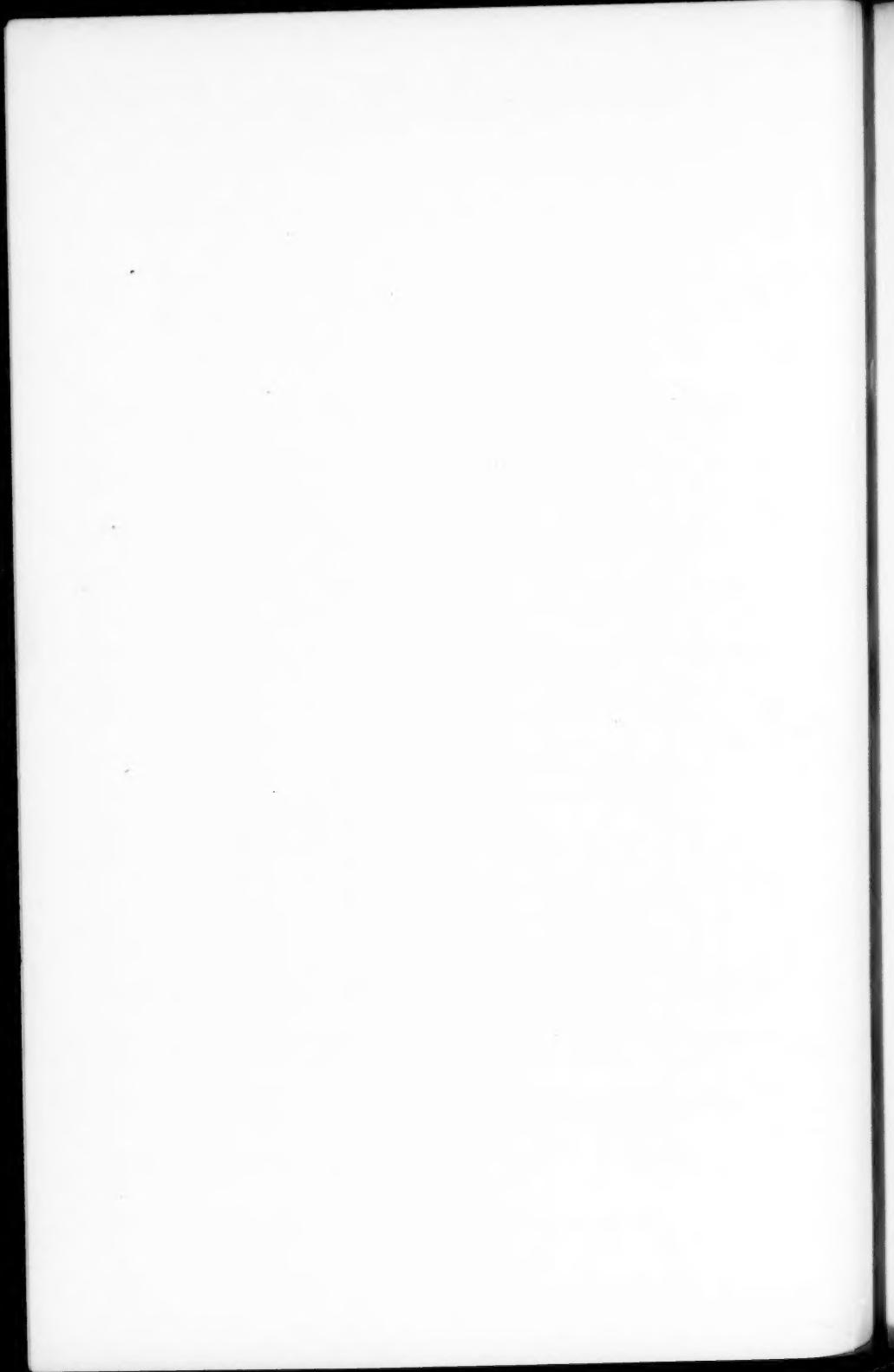
The negative evidence of Nicola Sabbatini is confirmed by the significant silence of Joseff Furtenbach. By elucidated picture and diagram given in his *Newes Itinerarium Italiae*, published at Ulm in 1627, and in his *Architectura Recreationis*, which appeared at Augsburg in 1640, Furtenbach reveals the mysteries of Italian stage building and scene-shifting but affords no clue to his acquaintanceship with an orchestra. Clearly the principle, even if formulated, had no vogue before the rise of Venetian Opera. The earliest pictorial evidence I know of testifying to the existence of the orchestra is a plate showing a ballet-scene in the opera of *L'Hipermestra* as given by the prince cardinal of Tuscany, in 1658, at the new Pergola Theatre, Florence, in honor of the Prince of Spain's birthday.<sup>1</sup> It depicts a small, highly ornate coffer-like enclosure, occupying in length about a third of the width of the proscenium opening. Curiously enough, it is in 1658 also that the first trace occurs of the use of the term *orchestra* in its modern sense, and that, too, in England where the principle had not yet been established. Defining *orchester* in his *New World of Words*, Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, begins by giving its ancient meanings and then adds, "it is also sometimes taken for the place where the musicians sit." It is noteworthy that in the seventh edition of the lexicon, issued in 1720 under the supervision of another hand, the latter clause is altered to "it is now taken for the Musick Gallery—or Place where the Musicians sit." This would lead one to believe that familiarity with the term had led to its general application, but, as a matter of fact, one cannot trace any employment of the term in England much before 1720, the good old Elizabethan designation of "music-room" having come to be applied to the musicians' new habitat. Thus, on June 2, 1716, the managers of Drury Lane notified one of their *employés*, "Mr. Castelman,—You are to let Mr. Devan, Mr. Latour, the Hoboy and Mr. Pots know that after Saturday, the 9th instant, the company have no further occasion for their performance in the music-room." In the Dublin theatre the term "music-room" survived to the middle of the eighteenth century.

<sup>1</sup>Reproduced from the opera-book in the second series of my *The Elizabethan Playhouse and other Studies* (1913).



Proscenium, emblematic curtain, and orchestra of the new, small Ducal  
Theatre of Parma, 1690.

(Frontispiece to "L'Idea di Tutte le Perfezioni.")



So much by way of necessary exordium. Turning now to my main theme, I find myself absolved from entering upon any very elaborate discussion of the characteristics of Elizabethan stage music by the fact that the English theatre orchestra dates from Restoration times. Since, however, there was some carrying over of old musical conventions well into the first orchestral period, modifying the full force of the new principles and rendering the transition practically insensible, it is essential that some details should be presented of the scheme of theatrical music earlier in the century.

One has nothing but admiration for the artistry displayed by the wise Elizabethans in utilizing music to assist illusion and heighten the emotional content of a scene. Music, for the most part, was treated by them as a thing of reverence and of mystery, a spiritual enjoyment whose source was to be obscured. Except when they occasionally appeared on the stage for purposes of high realism, the musicians were never seen at work. Their normal position was behind a curtain in an elevated box in the tiring-house front, that permanent architectural background which formed an unvarying characteristic of the unenclosed platform stage. Just as "the music-room" differed from the orchestra in being within stage territory and in its capability of being used on occasion for purposes of dramatic action, so, too, the status and occupation of the Elizabethan stage musician had nothing in common with the specialism of the theatre musician of later times. This was largely due to the circumstance that from a remote period in the history of the English drama the identity of player and musician was largely confused. In early dramas, like Wilson's *The Cobbler's Prophesie*, the actor-singer frequently played his own accompaniments. In 1586 the English players, who were so much run after on the continent, not only enjoyed high reputation as musicians but were marvelled over as acrobats as well. Clearly the age of specialism was not yet. Like the Elizabethan super, the Elizabethan fiddler was "a hireling," with daily wages, and when not actively engaged in his own work was expected to do a super's, and go on with the crowds. As a rule, songs were sung in the music-room behind the shelter of the curtain, but when, for purposes of realism, in serenades, etc., they were given on the stage, he had to go on to accompany and sometimes say a few words in character.<sup>1</sup> Unless actors

<sup>1</sup>Illusion was never outraged on the Elizabethan stage in the ruthless manner often practised on the modern stage, as, for example, in a drawing-room scene where the singer comes down unblushingly to the footlights and is accompanied by the band. In Shakespeare's day a song sung on the stage and accompanied in the music-room would have been an impossibility.

turned musicians oftener than musicians turned actors he was, in sooth, expected to have many accomplishments. In *Timon of Athens* we find the dancers following Italian precedent and providing their own music. In *Monsieur Thomas* a fiddler takes part in the dialogue and sings and plays.

Apart from the glamour and mystery with which they enshrouded their music (thus inspiring Shakespeare to fill Prospero's enchanted isle with supernatural strains), the Elizabethans deftly initiated and discreetly employed a principle afterwards to undergo excessive development in the *melodrame*. As in the opening of *Twelfth Night*, the lyric ecstasy of a speech was often accentuated by a running musical accompaniment. Death scenes and other pathetic episodes were similarly stressed. We shall see later how far the carrying over of these conventions affected the employment of the orchestra.

Since the principle of movable scenery operating behind an elaborately decorated proscenium arch was first brought to England from Italy by Inigo Jones and used by him as a setting for the Jacobean court masques, it might be thought that he also introduced the orchestra, transferring the idea, say, to the graceful court fantasies of the Caroline period. But this would be mere delusion. Even if the orchestra were in full-blown existence in Italy in Jones's later day, its adoption in the masques was precluded by the fact that its position was permanently occupied by a set of imposing proscenium steps down which the masquers descended from the stage to tread the mazes of the dance on the floor of the hall. Inigo Jones has himself stilled all our doubts on this point by leaving us a design for a court stage and auditorium, now preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> in which the position of the musicians is clearly indicated. They occupied a box on either side of the proscenium front, a system, as already pointed out, long followed in Italy.

Baffled in our expectations of Inigo Jones, and still pursuing our quest, we turn with eager curiosity to the Commonwealth period. At this curiously inopportune hour D'Avenant, after disarming suspicion by giving at Rutland House a dreary precursor of the modern "Concert with Readings," has made feeble attempt to reflect the dazzling radiance of Italian Opera. It is 1656; in Italy the orchestra is now well established; D'Avenant's stage is cramped, his hall small: surely necessity as well as precedent will demand the institution of the orchestra. But

<sup>1</sup>Reproduced in G. H. Cowling's *Music in the Elizabethan Theatre*.

the unexpected happens. In a contemporary account of the "First Day's Entertainment," which consisted of a series of ponderous Socratic disputations intermingled with music and song, we read:

The Musick was above in a loover hole railed about and covered with sarcenetts to conceale them, before each speech was consort musick.<sup>1</sup>

According to the directions in the book of the entertainment both singers and instrumentalists remained hidden from sight during the concerts. Here the precedent of the Elizabethan music-room seems to have been followed, although (and, D'Avenant having lived for a time in France, it is requisite to point this out) there was a somewhat similar practice on the contemporary French stage, due to the civil and religious disabilities under which all who appeared on the public stage in Catholic countries suffered. In 1650, when the *Andromède* of Corneille was given at the Petit Bourbon, the songs were rendered by vocalists hidden in latticed stage boxes while the ordinary players were engaged in the traffic of the scene. Notwithstanding, however, the squeamishness of D'Avenant's concert singers and players, the issue could not be shirked, so far as the vocalists were concerned, four months later when the innovative knight produced in the same hall *The Siege of Rhodes*, the first English opera. They had to sing their parts upon the stage. But all the available evidence tends to show that the musicians were stationed on this occasion behind the scenes. D'Avenant, in his address to the Reader, says

It has often been wisht that our Scenes . . . . had not been confined to eleven foot in height, and about fifteen in depth, including the place of passage reserv'd for the musick.

That this passage could not have conducted to some enclosure at the front, above or below the proscenium arch, is shown by the recently discovered designs for the scenery, etc., and plans for the stage.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the possibilities of an orchestra box having been provided are negatived by the fact that the parapet of the stage was only 2 feet 6 inches high.

Abandoning Rutland House because of its manifold inconveniences, D'Avenant renewed his experiments (for they were nothing better) at the old Cockpit Theatre in Drury Lane, where

<sup>1</sup>State Papers, Dom. Ser. Interregnum, 1656, CXXVIII, art. 108.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *The Burlington Magazine* for April-May, 1914, Mr. W. G. Keith's important articles on "The Designs for the First Movable Scenery on the English Public Stage."

he opened in December, 1658, with his so-called opera, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*. Once more dreading Puritan hostility, and desiring for the time being to lull suspicion, he was careful to avoid all semblance of dramatic form and steered clear of the quicksands of plot and dialogue. Arranged in six "entries" instead of acts, *The Cruelty* can only be described as a slowly developed panorama with illustrative songs and dances. We read in the book how, towards the close of the first entry, the Chief Priest of Peru (who was practically the lecturer to the pictures) waved "his verge towards the Room where the Musick are plac'd behind a Curtain," with the result that a song was sung. Which reminds us that when worthy Master Pepys went to the Clothworkers' Hall on June 28, 1660, to dine with the company and hear some good music he recorded

where among other things I was pleased that I could find out a man by his voice, whom I had never seen before to be one that sang behind the curtaine formerly at Sir W. Davenant's opera.

It only remains to add that *Sir Francis Drake*, the interlinked production which followed *The Cruelty* at the Cockpit, was much less epic and non-dramatic in form and certainly presented some singing on the stage. But we have no reason to suppose that from first to last during these interesting experiments the musicians ever exposed themselves to the public gaze.

When the King came to his own again, acting was hurriedly renewed in the old deserted theatres under all the old principles. Pepys expresses his disgust at the ragged performance of *All's Lost by Lust* at the Red Bull in March 1661, adding

and with so much disorder, amongst others, in the musique room, the boy that was to sing a song, not singing it right, his master fell about his ears and beat him so, that it put the whole house in an uproar.

The time was ripe for change and dramatic methods were now about to be revolutionized by the emergence of a new type of theatre, whose main differentiation lay in the employment of movable scenery. Old conventions, however, die hard, and the Elizabethan music-loft, so far from disappearing with the open platform and the permanent architectural background of which it had formed a part, succeeded in establishing itself above the proscenium arch in the new type of house. How long in England it maintained its efficacy, in face of the introduction and gradual encroachments of the orchestra, it would be difficult to say; but

in the Dublin theatre (where musical plays had no vogue before the days of *The Beggar's Opera*) it held its pride of place until the dawn of the eighteenth century.

Under the new conditions the music-loft was only utilized, it would appear, for the three selections given at intervals before the rising of the curtain, and for the *entr'actes*. In the performance of ordinary drama (as contrasted with plays of the musico-spectacular order) all necessity for the provision of an orchestra, in the narrow sense of the term, was precluded by the obstinate persistence of most of the old Elizabethan musical conventions. We know positively, from textual indications, that when a song or dance was given in a normal play—and nearly every Post-Restoration comedy ended in a general dance—the instrumentalists came on with punctilious realism to provide the music. Not only that, but the dramatist was expected to insert a few words accounting for their presence. Note how ingeniously Congreve brings in the musicians and leads up to the song in the second act of *The Double Dealer*. So, too, in Mrs. Behn's *The Amorous Prince* (1671) Cloris is unable to dance a jig to dissipate Frederick's sadness until she has first gone off to procure music. To-day we take all this for granted; mention of the word "jig" would be the cue for the orchestra to strike a long-drawn chord.

Leaving ordinary drama aside, there were, however, in Dryden's day, musical problems which neither Elizabethan convention nor music-loft could solve. True, after *The Siege of Rhodes*, the supply of legitimate opera was negligible, but there was an abundance of what old Roger North calls "semi-operas," plays presenting, *apropos des bottes*, pastoral dialogue in song, operatic scenes and clumsily intercalated masques, not to speak of sundry perversions of Shakespeare abounding in song and dance. Most of these excrescences, being purely theatrical and not episodes of contemporary realism, did not admit of the bringing on of the musicians during the action. For these, unless we can assume there was much playing behind the scenes, the constitution of an orchestra seems to have been imperative. But the curious thing is that, while that epoch-marking theatre, the Duke's in Lincoln's Inn Fields, opened in June, 1661, with *The Siege of Rhodes* and was known for some time distinctively as "the Opera," it is not in connection with this, the first of the picture-stage houses, that we have the earliest reference to the establishment of the orchestra. Pepys, our only authority on the point, is silent till he comes to deal with the opening of the second of the new houses, the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Going there, on May 8, 1663,

the second day of performance, to see an old play, *The Humorous Lieutenant*, Pepys writes:

The house is made with extraordinary good contrivance, and yet hath some faults, as the narrowness of the passages in and out of the pitt and the distance from the stage to the boxes, which I am confident cannot hear; but for all other things it is well, only above all, the musique being below, and most of it sounding under the very stage, there is no hearing of the bases at all, nor very well of the trebles, which sure must be mended.

Rightly or wrongly, the impression one gains here is that the writer was dealing with a rank innovation. And that might very well be, for Tom Killigrew, the patentee of the new house, had been a decade earlier British Resident at Venice, and, armed with the knowledge gained there, was anxious to improve theatrical music in England. To the amelioration which set in after the passage of a few years, and that despite the British predilection for simple ballad tunes, he largely contributed, though his more pretentious schemes were balked. Pepys, in recording a conversation he had with him on the subject in February, 1667, points out that, whereas at the dawn of the Restoration the band consisted of "only two or three fiddlers," now there were "nine or ten of the best." As a matter of fact, English theatre music at this period was superior to French. Chappuzeau, after enumerating the London playhouses in his *Europe Vivante* (1667), proceeds to make invidious comparisons, much to English advantage:

Il faut ajouter. . . . que la musique y est excellente et les Ballets magnifiques; qu'elles n'ont pas moins de douze violins chacune pour les Preludes et pour les Entr'actes; . . . .

Poor France had only six! One hears much of French influence upon the Restoration theatre but France can hardly have brought about the establishment of the orchestra in England because in respect to adopting that institution she was, strange to say, considerably belated. True, the musicians had assumed their now familiar position at court performances as early as May, 1664, but, in spite of a dubious assertion of Chappuzeau's presently to be cited, one has no trace of a public orchestra in France until the opening of her first Opera-house in 1671. By the way, it is noteworthy that an important clause in the king's *privilege* to Perrin for the establishment of that house was instrumental in bringing about a vital change at Molière's theatre. This indemnified "tous les Gentilshommes, Damoiselles et autres personnes

puissent chanter au dit *Opéra*" from loss of any of their rights or privileges by so doing. The moral influence of this salutary provision is shown by the following entry in the famous unofficial register of La Grange made in April 1671:

Jusques icy les musiciens et musiciennes n'avoient point voulu paroître en public; mais ils chantoient à la Comédie dans des loges grillées et treillissées, mais on surmonta tous ces obstacles, et avec quelque légère dispence, on trouva des personnes qui chantèrent sur le théâtre à visage descouvert, habillez comme les comédiens, etc.

But, if Chappuzeau is to be believed, the musicians of the house of Molière, so far from immediately emulating the singers' example, preferred for some years to remain in obscurity. Writing, in 1674, in his *Le Théâtre françois* (Bk. iii. Ch. lii), Chappuzeau says:

Ci-devant, on les plaçait ou derrière le théâtre, ou sur les ailes, ou dans un retranchement entre le théâtre et le parterre, comme en une forme de parquet. Depuis peu, on les met dans une des loges du fond d'où ils font plus de bruit que de tout autre lieu où on les pourrait placer.<sup>1</sup>

He goes on to say that it would be advisable for them to learn the last lines of the act by heart, so that they would be able to begin the symphony at once, without waiting for the cry of "Play!" which was so often heard. Chappuzeau's statement that the orchestra had already been experimented with has to be taken on trust, but, assuming its accuracy, the whole passage shows that the position of the musicians, so far from being due to exigencies, was matter of caprice. This indetermination is noteworthy since it was not without its analogy in the Restoration theatre, where we find a similar chopping and changing.

One swallow makes not a summer, and the superiority of the English theatre rests not alone on Chappuzeau's *ipse dixit*. Other travellers, notably Sorbières in 1664 and Count Magalotti in 1669, testify to the same effect. Magalotti writes:

Before the comedy begins, that the audience may not be tired with waiting, the most delightful symphonies are played; on which account many persons come early to enjoy this agreeable amusement.

Harking back to the opening of Killigrew's Theatre Royal in 1663, one is apt to suspect, in spite of the inference most readily

<sup>1</sup>*Cf. Collier, Annals of the Stage, 1891, III. 448, note.*

deducible from Pepys' comment, that the Duke's, being distinctively the Opera-house, had already introduced the orchestra. But the sole existing reference to the accommodation provided for the musicians at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre seems only to indicate the provision of a music-loft. On November 7, 1667, Pepys repaired to the Duke's to see the Dryden-D'Avenant version of *The Tempest* (which we must be careful not to confound with Shadwell's later, and, musically speaking, more elaborate version) but, arriving late and finding the house crowded, was compelled willy-nilly, "to sit in the side balconie over against the musique room." This position overhung the stage and was most undesirable.

The puzzling point is that, although we have fairly sound evidence of the use of an orchestra at the new Theatre Royal on its opening, we have also fairly sound evidence that, almost nine years later, when the house was burnt down, a music-loft was one of its features. In a contemporary ballad, dealing with the event, we read:

But on a sudden a Fierce Fire 'gan rage,  
In several scenes, and overspread the stage.  
The 'Horrors,' waiting on the dismal sight,  
Soon taught th' players to th' life to act a Fright.  
The Boxes where splendors us'd to surprise  
From constellations of bright ladies' eyes,  
A different blazing lustre now is found  
And th' music-room with whistle flames doth sound,  
Then catching hold o' th' roof it doth display,  
Consuming fiery trophies every way.

In keeping with the fact that the fire started below in the store where Orange Moll kept her fruit, this florid account begins with the stage and gradually ascends to the roof, near where the music room was. This music room might possibly have been a later addition, due to plaints similar to Pepys' about the music sounding under the very stage. One recalls that when the Theatre Royal was closed for some months during the period of the Great Plague, or about a couple of years after it was built, considerable alteration was effected in and about the stage.

The curiously contradictory evidence in respect to the accommodation for the musicians at the various Restoration and Post-Restoration theatres can only be reconciled by assuming the concurrent employment at one and the same house, for a considerable stretch of time, of both music loft and orchestra. This hardly sounds rational but I shall clearly demonstrate later on

this dual provision in connection with one particular theatre and strive to develop a theory accounting for it.

Meanwhile let us consider an item of interesting evidence clearly demonstrating that in 1665 the two picture-stage theatres were making at least occasional use of the orchestra. It is to be found in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts and runs as follows:

1664-5 March 20.

A Warrant to make up habitts of several coloured silkes for four and twenty violins, twelve of them being for his Majesty's service in the theatre Royall, and the other twelve habitts for his Majesty's service in his Highness the Duke of York's theatre; and also four and twenty garlands of severall coloured flowers to each of them after the same manner as those that were delivered to Sir H. Herbert, Master of his Majesty's Revels. All these habitts and garlands to be delivered to Mr. Killigrew for his Majesty's extraordinary service.

A like warrant of March 18 for habitts for the 24 violins, like Indian gowns but not so full, with short sleeves to the elboes, trymmed with tinsell about the neck and bottom and at the sleeves.

The Rev. H. C. de Lafontaine, from whose useful compilation, *The King's Musick*, the above extracts are taken, fails to see (p. 482) that the two items are not really associated. The warrant of March 18 clearly refers to provision for the new court theatre at Whitehall, which, according to Pepys, was opened on April 20 following. But taken together, the two entries admit of the interesting deduction that the King's band of 24 violins also constituted the bands at the two public theatres, twelve playing at each house. One must bear in mind that, whereas at these acting took place in the afternoon, court performances were invariably given at night. It is not on the whole surprising to find the King permitting his musicians to earn a little extra money by playing at the ordinary theatres, which, though public, were really royal appanages and depending for their patronage mostly on the courtiers. This was no more incongruous than his allowing the choristers of the Chapel Royal to sing in Shadwell's version of *The Tempest* at the Duke's in 1674. Surmise becomes certainty when at a later period we find positive evidence of the royal musicians playing at Drury Lane. In May, 1677, John Singleton, Theophilus Fitz, Henry Brockwell, Edmund Flower and Joseph Fashion, members of the King's band, petitioned the Lord Chamberlain against Charles Killigrew, Master of the Revels, "for dismissing their attendance at the playhouse."

Jumbling the two entries unwarrantably together, Mr. de Lafontaine arrives at the conclusion that the habits referred to

in the warrant of March 20, 1665, were supplied for the production at Drury Lane of *The Indian Queen* in January, 1664, an unjustifiable harking back, more particularly as the habits were specifically provided for use at both theatres. That the Indian gowns of the earlier warrant were kept for the court and formed the conventional attire there of the royal musicians is shown by orders of January 18, 1668-9 and February 17, 1673-4, in which they recur. North points out in his *Memoires of Musick* that from the time of James I the court musicians performing in masques had been attired in rich liveries "of divers coloured silk mantles and scarfs with rich caps, and the master in the shape of an Apollo." Whence was derived the convention of the Indian gowns may be divined by examining Van Lochum's engraving of a French court performance in 1635, wherein the musicians, seated in a balcony close to the stage, are depicted wearing fancy gowns and feathered Indian head-dresses.<sup>1</sup>

Since it was not the business of Charles II to supply attire for the ordinary theatre musicians, one can only surmise that the habits provided for the twelve violins at either house were for special use on those occasions when the King visited the playhouse in state. And, since in an elevated proscenium music-room adorned with curtains, rich garb would have been wasted, it may also be surmised that the dresses were intended for use in an orchestra and possibly on the stage. Owing to their being set off with wreaths and other head-dresses on these gala nights, the musicians fell into the habit of wearing their hats on ordinary occasions, with the result that in 1699 some high and mighty folk, chafing that anything should come between the wind and their nobility, complained to the Lord Chamberlain of the playhouse fiddlers remaining uncovered in their august presence and got the terrible grievance redressed. Surely a hint to the managers would have sufficed.

We come now by chronological progression to the vital evidence testifying to the concurrent employment in the one theatre of both music loft and orchestra. In October, 1673, or almost two years after the opening of the imposing new Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden, there was published as having been acted there, a piece of sensational fustian, by Elkanah Settle, called *The Empress of Morocco*. Notable among the several curious illustrations in the book is a view, now reproduced, showing the front of the stage with the play in action, and especially

<sup>1</sup>For reproduction, see Germain Bapst, *Essai sur l'Histoire du Théâtre*, p. 217.



View of the stage front of the Duke's Theatre, Dorset Garden, 1673.  
Showing the music-loft (from Settle's "The Empress of Morocco").



valuable as documentary evidence from the fact that it proves the existence of the music loft. Projecting over the proscenium, on a sort of shelf-like bracket, is to be observed a commodious room with three curtained openings, the front being adorned with statues of Tragedy and Comedy, the Duke of York's arms and a variety of musical emblems. Here the musicians played intermittently during the assembling of the audience and in the inter-acts. But within six months of the publication of Settle's play we have evidence at the same house of the employment of an orchestra. Shadwell's semi-operatic version of Dryden's *Tempest* was produced there in April, 1674, and published anonymously in the same year. At the opening of the play we read:

The front of the stage is opened and the Band of 24 violins with the Harpsichards and Theorbos, which accompany the voices, are placed between the Pit and the stage. While the Overture is playing the Curtain rises, and discovers a new Frontispiece, joyn'd to the great Pylasters, on each side of the stage.

It is apparent from this that the Duke's at this period boasted no permanent orchestral enclosure, the musicians only being placed *in situ* when elaborate musical productions demanded. Had the orchestra been a normal institution the opening sentence would have been superfluous. It would therefore appear that in 1674 there were two methods of accommodating the musicians in front, according to the nature of the piece presented. When ordinary plays were given, the regular band of twelve violins would officiate in the music-loft during the waits and probably appear on the stage, in accordance with time-honored convention, when the situation called for it. But when pieces of an operatic nature were performed, the band would be augmented and perforce would have had to resort to the orchestra. Probably for long the orchestra proved an eyesore to the pit, on whose demesnes it poached, a necessary evil of occasional obtrusion, tolerated on sufferance; and probably thence originated that tradition of hostility toward the fiddlers whose latent fires burst ever and anon into flame throughout the eighteenth century, not only in England and Ireland but in America.

It is important for us to note that we have clear evidence in connection with the performance of Shadwell's *Tempest* of the use of both music-loft and orchestra. The passage already cited from the play shows that the musicians only took their place in the orchestra shortly before the overture, or curtain tune, was to be given. But among the instrumental numbers written by

Matthew Lock for the production and published by him in 1675, we find the following:

*First Music*:—Introduction, Second Galliard, gavot.

*Second Music*:—Saraband, Lilk.

*Curtain Tune*.

*Four Act-tunes*:—Rustic air, Minuet, Corant, Martial Jig.

*Conclusion*: Canon 4 in 2.

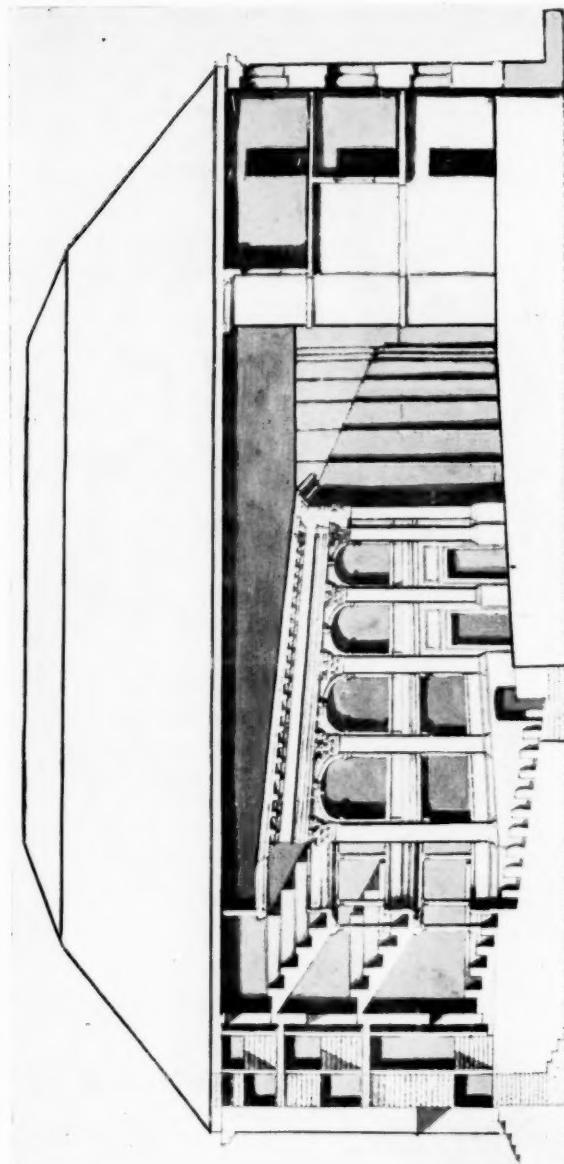
On this showing the First and Second Music (following the regular custom) must have been played in the music-loft. Where the *entr'actes* were given must remain an open question; but my own opinion is that, once in the orchestra, the musicians would have remained there.

Having the advantage in the beginning of being a permanent architectural feature of the house, the music-loft was difficult to oust. One sees the influence of its privacy in the conditions under which, in 1672, John Banister established the first English concerts; according to Roger North he "procured a large room in Whitefriars, near the Temple back-gate, and made a large raised box for the musicians whose modesty required curtains." The entertainment began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and the room was provided with small tables for drinking purposes. The charge was a shilling and one called for what one pleased.

As for the precise period when the English theatre orchestra became a permanent institution and entirely superseded the music-loft, that is difficult to determine. Evidence is scanty and conflicting. One asks one's self, for example, whether the dual system of accommodating the musicians was employed at the second Theatre Royal, Drury Lane on its erection in 1674. The production there in French of Perrin's opera of *Ariane* early in April, that is to say, very shortly after the opening, slightly preceded (practically synchronized with) the production of Shadwell's *Tempest* at the rival house. It is difficult to imagine that the one had an orchestra and the other had not, but the evidence is to that effect. In the books of *Ariane*, one in French and one in English, printed for use in the theatre, a frontispiece is given showing the front of the stage with the opening scene in action.<sup>1</sup> No orchestra is indicated. The stage projects in a semi-oval figure and its base is ornamented with musical emblems. The inference, possibly fallacious, is that the musicians played behind the scenes. But in a recently discovered sectional plan of Sir Christopher Wren's, which from its

<sup>1</sup>Reproduced by me in *The Elizabethan Playhouse and other Studies* (Second series), p. 140.

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Sir Christopher Wren's sectional plan for the second Theatre Royal, Drury Lane (1674).

measurements seems to have been made for the second Theatre Royal, a house he is known to have designed, a permanent orchestral enclosure is clearly indicated. (See reproduction.)

Abandoning this apparently insoluble problem, my own opinion is that the supersession of the music-loft came eventually through that familiarization with the orchestra due to the great outburst of "dramatick opera" in the last decade of the century, beginning with *Dioclesian, or the Prophetess*, in 1690, and proceeding with *King Arthur* (1691), *The Fairy Queen* (1692) and divers other productions down to Purcell's swan-song, *Bonduca*, in 1695.

In the passage already cited from Shadwell's *Tempest* one has the first record of the employment of the harpsichord in an English orchestra. In its presence we have the belated baton-wielding conductor foreshadowed, for, maintaining its pride of place for over a century, it was the tempo-giving instrument at which the leader long presided. Although in 1674 the orchestra was nothing better than a temporary expedient, its artistic influence had already begun to be felt. One notes the dawning of a certain musical relevancy. Superficialists will tell you with unblushing effrontery that the appropriate, as opposed to the conventional, overture dates from Gluck, oblivious of the fact that Matthew Lock's overture to Shadwell's *Tempest* deftly prepared the listener by its turbulency for the opening scene of the angry sea. Very soon this inducing of a mood preparatory to the rising of the curtain became to some extent a practice in connection with the preludes and act-tunes which Purcell and others regularly composed for the embellishment of new plays. Thus after Act II in Dryden's tragedy of *Aureng-Zebe*, as given at the Theatre Royal in 1675, we read "Betwixt the Acts, a Warlike Tune is plaid, shooting off Guns, and shouts of Soldiers are heard, as in an Assault."

Viewing the tendency of the regular theatre orchestra to solidify and remain impervious to outer influences, it was a happy circumstance that in Post-Restoration times there was no specialization of function, that the same house gave tragedy, comedy or opera indifferently. Soundness of orchestral equipment in the eighteenth century was largely due to instrumental experimentation in the pseudo-operas of this epoch. For it must be remembered that although the variety of instruments used in the course of an ordinary Post-Restoration play was only limited by the precise supply of the hour, the normal band for preludes and *entr'actes* consisted wholly of strings. Yet the theatre, with its hautboys, recorders, flageolets, flutes doux, was well equipped with wood. Recall how Pepys, on February 27, 1668, after

seeing Massinger's old play of *The Virgin Martyr* at the Theatre Royal wrote:

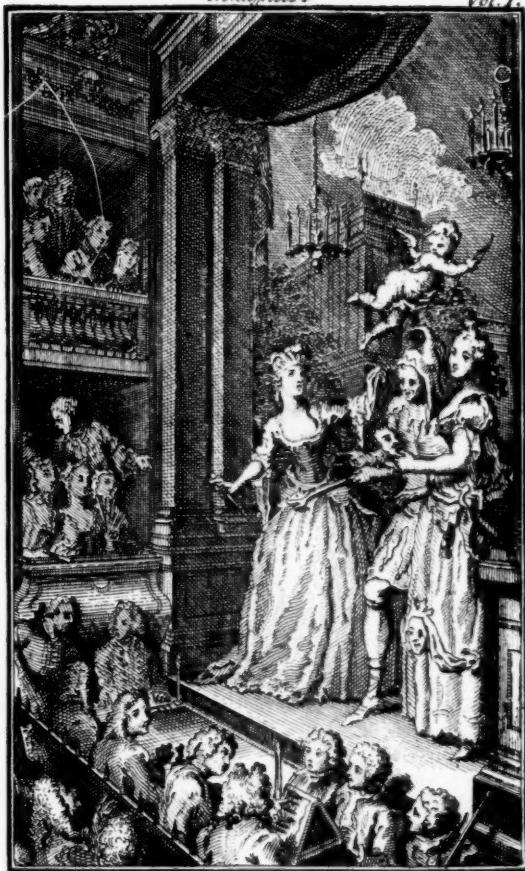
But that which did please me beyond anything in the whole world was the wind musique when the angel comes down, which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife.

All the elements of a scientific orchestra lay ready to hand, awaiting the genius who should know how to combine them. Hence it was that the end-of-the-century rage for that hybrid entertainment called "Dramatick Opera" served two good purposes, first in firmly establishing the orchestra and secondly, through that establishment, affording opportunities for testing new instrumental combinations. With Purcell's success in these experiments orchestration began. Not but that the way had been paved for him by his predecessors, especially Lock and Grabut. His trumpet-song in *Dioclesian*, "Sound, Fame, thy brazen trumpet" had doubtless been suggested by the trumpet obbligato accompanying Fame's solo and chorus at the close of *Albion and Albanius*, as set by Grabut in 1685. One is assuming, of course, that in both cases a trumpet was really used, and not, as was the case in the early renderings of "The Trumpet Shall Sound" in *The Messiah*, a small alto sackbut. Be that as it may, the natural trumpet, much as it was employed behind the scenes, never became incorporated with the normal theatre orchestra. One finds vivid illustration of this in the old Covent Garden account books, as preserved among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum. Thus on September 12, 1735, when *Hamlet* was played the expense of the orchestral music was £3. 11. 10. but this item did not include the kettle-drums,<sup>1</sup> trumpets and side-drum used in the play, which formed a separate entry and cost 17s. In looking over these books, by the way, it is interesting to note the increasing expense, connoting increasing importance, of the orchestra. In 1757, when there was a band of 22 performers, the cost was £5. 4. 4. per night. In 1766 it had increased to £6. 10. 10. almost double the expense of thirty years previously.<sup>2</sup>

Although the eighteenth-century orchestra partition was provided with a bristling array of spikes to deter the riotous

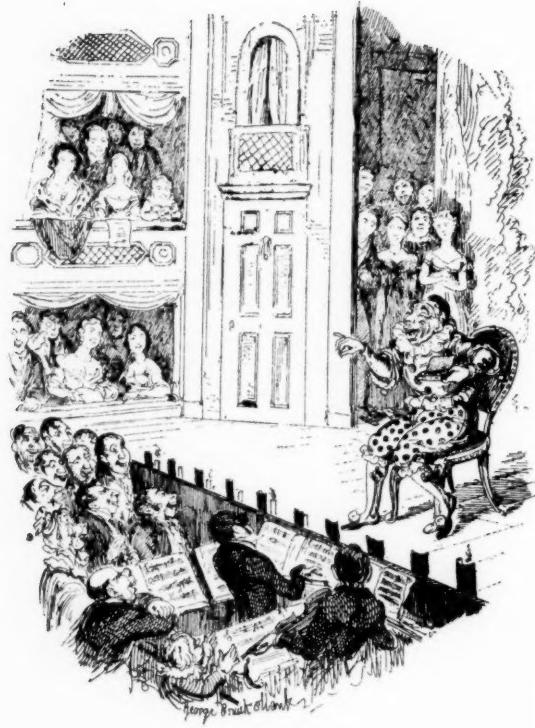
<sup>1</sup>Kettle-drums were first made use of in opera by Lully at the French court late in the seventeenth century. Their orchestral use was unknown in England in 1749 when Handel employed them in his *Water Music*.

<sup>2</sup>The maximum expenditure on musicians in the English Theatre in 1661 was thirty shillings a day.



Emblematic frontispiece to "The Beauties of the English Stage"  
(London, 1737).

(Showing the orchestra of the period.)



### *The last Song*

Plate from Boz's "Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi."

(Showing spectators in orchestra at Grimaldi's farewell benefit at Drury Lane, 1828.)

from climbing over on to the stage, it cannot be said to represent the line of demarcation between actors and audience. Owing to the importation of a curious French custom the musicians often found themselves incommoded by the presence of spectators. At the Théâtre François from 1690 onward the musicians occupied a small central enclosure in front of the stage, flanked on either side by benches for the accommodation of newsletter writers, dramatists free of the house and other privileged spectators. All the ground-floor space behind was devoted to the standing pit. Little by little these orchestral seats increased, pushing the pit into the background, until they finally developed into the familiar *fauteuils d'orchestre*, otherwise stalls, of to-day. England, however, rejoiced in a seated pit, and when the primitive practice was introduced, it failed to produce analogous results. Whether or not Voltaire first brought it across the Channel, his is the name we first find associated with it. When the philosopher of Ferney came to London for the second time, in 1728, he sedulously attended the theatres with the view of improving his knowledge of English. On such nights as he went to Drury Lane, Chetwood, the prompter, lent him the book of the play and ushered him to a seat in the orchestra. The result was that before six months had passed he both spoke and wrote very tolerable English.

The privilege of sitting in the orchestra was much esteemed by men of distinction, particularly those who, like Dr. Johnson, suffered from myopia, or, like Sir Joshua Reynolds, were hard of hearing. It is related of Garrick that on the *première* of the tragedy of *Braganza*, at Drury Lane, in 1775, he sat among the musicians with a friend and that as the piece progressed his eyes became suffused with tears through the powerful acting of Mrs. Yates as the heroine. Forty years later Byron occupied a similar position on the night when Edmund Kean first played Othello in London, and, after Kean's magnificent outburst in the third act, he turned to Michael Kelly, the composer, and said, "Mr. Kelly, depend upon it, this is a man of genius." Not very long afterwards or, to speak by the card, in September, 1816, when the Drury Lane orchestral enclosure was considerably enlarged, a space was appropriated at either end for the use of spectators, and admission could be obtained there by paying box prices. In bygone days America had the misfortune to become infected with most of England's bad playgoing habits, and this was of the number. Spectators sat in the orchestra of the Park Theatre, New York, in 1822.

## MUSIC IN THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

By J. LAWRENCE ERB

THE University is an institution of learning. A considerable portion of its duty is to formulate standards and to apply those standards by means of degrees, which presumably are granted upon the completion of certain courses or after passing examinations in certain specified subjects. There arises at this point the question whether the University, as it has developed in America, is to be only an institution for the dissemination of learning, or whether it is to be also a training school for the preparation of servants of the community. The first is the more or less traditional view which is associated with the term "culture," while the second is the more democratic view which we associate with the term "service." In considering the relation of music courses and music degrees with the University it is necessary to bear in mind this distinction.

The tendency in universities of the older type, such as those of Europe and including the English as well as our own older American universities like Harvard, is toward culture courses such as are ordinarily known as theoretical. The emphasis is placed upon Harmony, Counterpoint, Canon and Fugue, History, Analysis of Form, Orchestration, and the production of exercises which are, in form at least, musical compositions. In the newer institutions, which one finds principally in the West and Middle West, the accent is placed rather upon the practical training of the musician. The theoretical courses are also offered,—in many cases perhaps offered rather than given,—and the degree of Bachelor of Music is frequently bestowed at the completion of the course, but throughout, the practical subjects are given at least equal prominence with the theoretical, and often greater. Here we have a definite line of cleavage, a different point of view between two sets of institutions of equal seriousness of purpose, and in the case of the best of either type, equally eager for the highest educational ideals and equally thorough in their training of the students. The question seems to be, which of these represents the American point of view and meets the American need.

It is not necessary here to consider those institutions which

are Universities in name but Colleges in scope. There are many such and they are doing excellent work, but they are not concerned in this discussion.

It is evident that in any legitimate university course in music there must be considerable emphasis placed upon the theoretical subjects. No university has a right to offer *less* than the usual four years' course which must include Harmony, History of Music, and Esthetics (the two latter as adapted to the needs of the musician), Counterpoint, Canon and Fugue, and Analysis of Form, and every university has the duty to add, if *possible*, other important items such as Orchestration, Composition and more extensive courses in History of Music for the training of competent, *professional* historians of music, teachers of musical history and critics. It is not enough, it would seem, that these courses be offered in the cut and dried fashion which has so generally characterized them in the past history of American universities. There should be a much greater attention to the analytical study of specific compositions, and the range of such compositions to be studied ought to be wide enough to afford a reasonable acquaintance with every type of musical literature. This does not mean an exhaustive list by any means, but a representative selection which is within the scope of every well-organized University department of Music. Such a course may be called Appreciation or it may be called something else. It may be carried on with the assistance of the mechanical machines, or, as in some cases, by the use of illustrative material furnished by the professor in charge of the class or by students; but that it must be a part of a complete university musical scheme goes without saying.

The aim of this sort of course is two-fold: first to acquaint the members of the class with musical literature, and second to supply a historical and critical basis for the understanding of the compositions and incidentally to awaken the analytical and critical faculties of the students. There is no question that one of the greatest weaknesses of the American musical situation at the present time is a lack of intelligent criticism, a lack of constructive listening even among educated people and musicians of a certain class. One hears too often the statement that a certain composition is good because "I like it" and it is bad because "I do not like it." This sort of thing has kept the earnest musician helpless, subject to the whims of people who know nothing about the art but who are very positive in their opinions. For this same reason, the study of musical appreciation should be begun as far down in the school system as possible, for we need intelligent

listeners even more than we need performers and composers, and we need them in all ranks of society. In fact, it is not likely we shall have our fair share of either performers or composers until we have a larger number of intelligent listeners.

The conduct of such an Appreciation course must produce results, that is, the study of the compositions in hand must be in detail, must be at first hand, must be intelligently directed, and must include all of the elements which ought to enter into such study, such as the historical, the structural, the technical and the critical. It is not enough simply to play or sing a composition through once or twice and then lay it aside. We have tens of thousands of people in America who are suffering with serious cases of musical dyspepsia simply because they have done too much of this sort of thing. They have listened and heard until they have no longer the power of assimilation and they have become musically blasé or musical faddists. The healthy development of musical taste and culture can come only with the proper assimilation of what we hear, and assimilation can come only after analysis and digestion.

So far the practice of the older universities in this country has worked out successfully, but it is in stopping here that the younger institutions would take issue with them. They would say that such a scheme is all very well where the student has already acquired a considerable practical musical training, but that the American people will not tolerate as a musician him who cannot *perform or compose acceptably*. The American people, too, do not take seriously one who styles himself a musician and simply talks or writes about music but cannot "make" it, or, at any rate, never in his career was a musician in the above sense. He may be never so intelligent, never so well-informed in matters involving great research, but from the American point of view he is not a musician, but rather a historian or essayist or what not. Even the older institutions are beginning to feel the need of providing for *practical* musical education, and while it is often not included among the courses leading to the Bachelor's degree, opportunity is afforded for acquiring practical training, under the auspices of the institution in most cases, but at extra expense. The newer university says this plan is a humbug. If the institution is to offer the work, why not include it as a university course under strict university supervision, and why charge extra fees? It is significant that a few of the older institutions have actually made the first move in the direction of including practical music courses by allowing in connection with the Appreciation work, for the

practical preparation of illustrative material, a certain small amount of credit toward the undergraduate degree.

This points the way to what I believe is the true function of the musical courses in an American university. Since the American university is becoming increasingly a training school,—but with its culture features strongly marked,—opportunity must be offered for the training in all of its aspects under the supervision of the university faculty. Therefore, except in those few great cities where the private music schools are sufficiently well developed to take care with reasonable success of the practical musical training of students, it must be a part of the work of the university itself to furnish this practical training, and even in the large cities there must be a measure of university supervision. That too large a proportion of the time and energy of the students may be easily expended upon the practical work must be admitted; that the broad cultural phases of music have been slighted and in many cases neglected must also be admitted, but that the training in applied music may safely be left to outside teachers is a question which will be answered in the negative by practically every institution of learning west of the Alleghany mountains and by a considerable number in the East as well.

The reason for this verdict lies in the nature of the musical instruction offered in the studios and schools, with but few exceptions throughout the country. Music-teaching is a disorganized, unstandardized profession,—in fact, too often it is a *business* rather than a profession,—and at its best it is extreme specialization, while at its worst it is indescribable. Actually it is not *music* teaching at all, except as a by-product, but Piano-teaching, or Voice-culture, or some other technically specialized process with Music simply a means for demonstrating the admirable (!) results of the system (or method.) That this sort of study has educational value is not to be denied, but it is the education of the *artisan* rather than of the *artist*, for the *trade* rather than for the *profession*, producing technique rather than culture or art of a high grade. I have no quarrel with this sort of training in its place. The world must have artisans that it may have artists. But it is not the function of the university to create or develop artisans. Hence the university cannot afford to delegate any portion of its educational processes to a utilitarian or commercialized and at all times irresponsible influence. It is the policy of the American university to offer all courses, after matriculation, which are accepted toward the degree. The practice of granting degrees after successfully passing certain examinations is not

acceptable in this country. Therefore, since Applied Music is a necessary part of the equipment of the music student it is a necessary part of the curriculum of any university offering serious musical courses, and should logically be offered without extra fees, except on the same basis as other laboratory fees.

This opens up another important problem in connection not only with university but with all music instruction,—namely the private lesson. As a matter of business, the private lesson is a gold-mine. Educationally the private lesson system, except for short terms, is both wasteful and unsatisfactory. The reaction of mind upon mind, the opportunity to study at first-hand problems other than one's own,—and to observe at first-hand *virtues* other than one's own,—the economy of time and effort with the consequent ability to cover a wider range,—all these and many other arguments may be advanced in favor of the class system of teaching. Private lessons should be like tutoring, for emergencies and special cases. The class system makes possible the introduction of applied music into the university upon its proper basis. Its practicability has been demonstrated by every great conservatory in Europe.

There remains a third and most important field for exploitation by the university. For lack of a better term let us call it Community Music. Under this head would fall the various and sundry organizations of the student-body and of the community at large. These are now too often without definite connection with or intelligent supervision by the university, though owing their existence entirely to it and regarded to a great extent as representative of its musical taste, culture, and activities. Every university ought to have its Department of Community Music, designed first for service and then for instruction and propaganda, including the various phases of university extension work. Under its beneficent guidance should fall, whether officially or unofficially, all Glee Clubs, Bands, Orchestras, Choral Societies, Choirs, and any other musical organizations of whatever sort. Its function should be the organizing and purveying of musical entertainments of all kinds, not only formal (and formidable) but informal. It should be as much concerned with the Mandolin Club as with the course of Symphony Orchestra Concerts by visiting organizations, with the informal Campus and Club-house "sings" as with the Oratorio Chorus or the Grand Song Recital by Mme. Cantatrice. There is a vast amount of musical enthusiasm and energy going to seed in our American colleges and universities, just where it

could be most easily conserved and used as a tremendous educational influence all over the land where university men and women live. Instead of lamenting because the Glee and Mandolin Clubs are musically so inferior, the wise thing would be to help them find themselves. Instead of bemoaning the fact that students sing nothing but "rag-time", which is often *the only music they know*, it would be well to teach them something better. Total depravity is no more a characteristic of the college student than of young men and women in the world at large, yet we take pains, through settlement work, free lectures, and recitals, and the like, to reach these latter, and then grumble because the much busier college man does not take the time and trouble to seek out what we painstakingly bring to the door of his brother.

The time was, not so long ago, when it was necessary to make strict rules,—which were difficult to enforce because of hostile or indifferent public opinion,—looking to proper attention to the physical welfare of students. To-day the overwhelmingly popular thing in all American colleges and universities is Physical Training in its *Applied Form* known as *Athletics*. Possibly a little wisdom and foresight, a little willingness to prescribe for our students what they need and then to help them like what we prescribe, may produce in a generation an enthusiasm for Music in our colleges and universities which will be as universal and overwhelming as now is exhibited only through Athletics. Who knows? In any event, a wider interest in and love for music in the country at large will be vastly accelerated by creating enthusiasm and intelligent appreciation and worthy leadership on the part of those to whom every community looks for its ideals and its leaders—our American Aristocracy, if you will,—those to whom the state and society have granted the privilege of university or collegiate education. Therefore, every phase of musical activity should receive its due representation in the curriculum of the university or should be under the care of some member of its musical faculty. And that representation and care should be so tactful and withal so enthusiastic that the persuasion or the contagion, working upon the collective mind of the student-body, should make music as real and vital to the students as are their most cherished collective activities. Then will each student become a propagandist for good music and a power in his community for musical uplift. Thus will follow, in the course of a few student-generations, the atmosphere for which musicians have been so long hoping, and the universal intelligence and cooperation which alone will make America a musical nation.

## A GENETIC STUDY OF THE AIDA LIBRETTO

By EDGAR ISTEL

**T**O what extent Verdi, whom, as a rule, we regard simply as a master in musical art, influenced the form of his libretto, how far he was a musician-poet in the Wagnerian sense, even though not gifted with specific poetic powers nor even skilled in the art of versifying, is almost unknown to many of his admirers. It is a fact which should be much better known, that Verdi, the greatest Italian opera-genius of the 19th century, had an eye, before all else, to the actual life-giving stage effect, and that poetic or musical finesse was a secondary consideration with him. "I would," so he writes to Ghislanzoni, the librettist of Aida, "immediately abandon rhyme, rhythm and strophic form if the action required it; I would write blank verse in order to be able to say clearly and definitely all that the action demanded. In matters theatrical it is at times conducive to success if the poet and the musician possess the talent of not making verses and music." "This was sometime a paradox," as Hamlet says, but events have proven the truth of the statement. The overwhelming success which crowned Verdi's theatrical career is due as much to the unusually skillful calculation and combination of all scenic factors and effects as to the inexhaustible and ever new succession of musical ideas welling up in the master's imagination, which in themselves were not of great significance, but which by their place and collocation in the drama, rose to importance. Verdi himself never tired of emphasizing the fact that the success of his operas, success first and last was his chief aim in art. Like a true Italian he had few scruples in this respect, but herein we find him in the company of the best music dramatists of all times. Neither Gluck nor Mozart, Weber nor Meyerbeer, Wagner nor Bizet scorned success in this sense. "I repeat for the twentieth time, I desire but one thing—success," he once writes to his librettist, as he urges him again and again to make alterations in his verses. But this success was not to be gained by illegitimate means. All things must be in perfect logical order, for only on this basis could he look for that enduring success of which, in

earlier years, just because of the poor quality of his librettos, he was so often deprived. He had paid dearly for his apprenticeship and was now, accordingly, so much the more on his guard.

An unusual combination of circumstances brought him into contact with just those men whom he needed to carry out his work. They were Auguste Edouard Mariette Bey, the noted discoverer of the tombs of the Apis bulls, a learned archæologist, to whom we owe the very first sketch of Aida; Camille du Locle, the French librettist, who had already written the text of Don Carlos for Verdi, and who now, residing in Busseto, worked out the story of Aida scene by scene under the master's eye in French prose, a proceeding in which Verdi himself took an active and by no means small part, (the finale of the last act, particularly, with its superposition of scenes, is Verdi's invention); and finally Antonio Ghislanzoni, a former opera singer, now a poet eminently fitted for the task of transmuting the French prose version into Italian verses, in the accomplishment of which task Verdi's share was again, as we shall see, uncommonly large. Ghislanzoni himself correctly indicated his comparatively modest share in the libretto when he wrote over the score "*Versi di Ghislanzoni*"; yet he is to-day regarded, not altogether rightly, as the sole librettist of Aida. The share of Mariette and du Locle, yes—even of Verdi himself—must in many respects appear more important. Nevertheless, we must accord to this man no little credit for having turned out, in spite of the unceasing pressure and the continual emendations of Verdi, such beautiful and singable verses.

Judgments as to the actual share of each of the four men in the Aida-book were for a long time extremely confused, and the Italian press in the year 1880 records a lively contest as to rights of priority. As du Locle chanced at the time to be in Rome, he published in the French journal, *L'Italie*, printed in that city, an open letter, in which for the first time the actual state of affairs was made clear. The facts are confirmed in the hitherto unnoticed correspondence between Verdi and Ghislanzoni.<sup>1</sup> We can get a clear idea of the process of building up the libretto only by culling from this correspondence, which is a criss-cross discussion of the whole work, the single, oft-reiterated remarks of Verdi, arranging them systematically and submitting them to a dramaturgical analysis. This we shall attempt to do in the following pages.

<sup>1</sup> In the possession of Dr. Edgardo Masini, published for the first time in the supplement of the *Corriere* (*Lettura del Corriere*), February, 1906; reprinted in the appendix of Verdi's *Copialettere*, edited by Cesari and Luzio in 1913.

Let us first, however, examine the early history of the subject. The opera, as is well known, was written to order for the Viceroy of Egypt, Ismael Pasha, for the celebration of the opening of the Suez Canal, and was to inaugurate the new opera house in Cairo. One year before he actually accepted the commission Verdi had declined all the Khedive's advances, but had been persuaded to change his mind when, in Paris, du Locle had submitted to him Mariette's first sketch. Some time later Ghislanzoni was invited by Verdi to the latter's country seat, S. Agata, where the composer laid before him the prose version, which, as Verdi writes to the publisher, Ricordi, (June 25, 1870), had undergone numerous changes at the hands of the composer himself after du Locle's departure. This version, called a "program" in the letters, seems to have been so detailed that it presented the complete sequence of ideas, including parts of the dialog, and needed in reality, nothing but the versification. On July 3, 1870, Ricordi was able to notify Verdi of Ghislanzoni's acceptance of the task and on July 21st he replied to some questions which Verdi had asked. The composer had inquired, for example, whether in ancient Egypt the duties of the cult of the gods had devolved entirely upon men; whether the name Ethiopia might in ancient times have been applied to Abyssinia; which Rameses was the great king of Egypt whom he wanted to designate by name, (in the final version the king remained without a name); where the sacred mysteries of Isis were celebrated; finally he sought information as to the chief temples of Egypt and about geographical matters.

In the correspondence with Ghislanzoni, which began on August 12th, Verdi mentions the fact that Mariette had informed him that he could have as many priestesses upon the stage as he pleased, and that, accordingly, these personages could be added in the consecration scene (Act 1).

To gain a more comprehensive view of the whole drama let us first make clear to ourselves the fundamental lines of its dramaturgic structure. It is, of course, impossible in this essay, to go into a detailed presentation of the basic technical principles involved in the construction of an opera libretto and we must assume that the reader is acquainted with the elementary technical terms of the theory of the drama, like exposition, play and counter-play, etc. Readers who have a deeper interest in the subject I refer to my book *Das Libretto* (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1914) which, however, is published only in German.

The tale of Aida in its original form is to be found, presumably, in some old papyrus known to Mariette. An Egyptian warrior of high rank is condemned to death for disclosing weighty secrets to the enemy, a case which has many parallels in history up to the present day. Possibly the old Egyptian record gave some intimation of the motive for the act of treason. In that case there could be only one noble and in a certain sense pardonable motive—the power of love. The Egyptian warrior loves a woman of a conquered race, who is held as a slave in Egypt, and for love of her, of course without intent and almost unconsciously, he betrays important state secrets. This furnishes the basis for a severe conflict in the hearts of the two chief actors, the conflict between love and duty. But the dramatist, and in still greater measure the opera composer, needed still other and more complicated conflicts. That the beloved woman should be a common slave was not enough. She must be the daughter of some important personage in the enemy's camp, yes, even the daughter of a king. Although consumed with love, she could not by herself without some stronger motive power tempt her lover to become a traitor, and so her father, the enemy's king, must be introduced into the story. He represents, in a certain sense, the heroine's conscience. He is the personification of her patriotism. This could be brought about only if the royal opponent of Pharaoh were conquered in battle and, like his daughter, dragged to Egypt a captive; if furthermore, his only salvation lay in his escape from Egypt and his return incognito to his native land, whence he might then deliver a crushing blow against his Egyptian adversary.

The conflict of emotions becomes still more involved when the vanquished king's actual conqueror in battle is his daughter's lover. In the hero's heart also the conflict is intensified, the counterplay becomes more effective, if the heroine is paired with a mighty rival. The only really powerful rival for a king's daughter was the daughter of Pharaoh, who was in a position to offer heart and hand, even the throne itself to the victorious general. Now it would have been possible (and a less skillful dramatist would probably have arranged it so) to let the hero waver in uncertain love between the two women; the author, however, chooses a nobler conception of the dignity of his hero and a more convincing characterization, when he makes love and love alone the motive on one side, and on the other, not merely duty, but honor and glory as well. The hero is thus faced with the alternative of yielding to the power of love and thereby—as actually happens—bringing disgrace and ruin upon his own head,

or following the behests of duty and winning a royal throne into the bargain. The ordinary mortal would unhesitatingly have chosen the latter, but the hero of tragedy cannot act contrary to the dictates of his own inmost nature and abandons himself to the guidance of love. In this we may see the greatness of his character and at the same time his tragic guilt.

In bewailing his fate, in letting our sympathy go out to him and to the woman who shares his ruin, we pronounce not only an æsthetic but also an ethical judgment. We rate his action, even though it violates the sublime duty of patriotism, higher than the correct deportment of the ordinary mortal. But we do this only on the assumption that he has become a traitor to his country unwillingly and unintentionally, because our loathing for the man who consciously betrayed his country, even though he did it for love's sake, would be so great that we could summon up very little human sympathy for him and, accordingly, no dramatic pity. On the contrary, we would regard his love as a mad passion, as an unjustifiable mania for which death was the proper penalty. On the other hand the climax of fellow-feeling is reached when we see that the very woman who brought this calamity upon her lover voluntarily shares his fate; and it seems like a kind of tragic irony that the rival prays for the soul of the wretched man over his tomb at the very moment when her bitter enemy is united in death with the object of her love.

Considering in this way the human and dramatic foundation of the Aida-plot as reduced to its simplest terms, we may easily obtain a clear survey of the various conflicts which make the tragedy. Radames, the victorious general; Aida, the Ethiopian slave; the father, Amonasro, the hostile monarch; Amneris, the daughter of Pharaoh; they all appear as necessary links in the chain of events, which needs only a King and a High-Priest (Ramfis) as representatives of Egypt's temporal and spiritual authority, to complete the tale of important actors in the drama. To these we might add the episodic appearance of the messenger who brings news of the assault of the enemy. How wisely economical the action is with respect to its dramatic motives, we may observe in the one fact that the conflict between love and duty, which tears the hearts of Aida and Radames, in like manner determines the conduct of Amneris. She herself must discover the treachery of her beloved. She herself must deliver him to the fanatical priests for punishment, and this in a truly feminine spirit, not because he has betrayed his country, but because, as she believes, he has betrayed her love. She herself must inwardly

suffer ruin with him, because her temporal power is impotent before the sentence of the spiritual judges, yes—because the hero in proud dignity disdains to save himself by resorting to an easy denial. On the basis of these dramatic lines of force it is a simple matter to map out the whole drama in acts, settings and scenes.<sup>1</sup>

We shall confine ourselves here to the most important points and give just a simple scheme of scenes for general information, taking it for granted that the reader is acquainted with the plot of the drama.

#### ACT I:

**SETTING I.** (Royal palace in Memphis.)

Scene 1. Radames, Ramfis.

Scene 2. Radames alone.

Scene 3. Radames, Amneris.

Scene 4. The preceding; Aida.

Scene 5. The preceding; King, Ramfis, and large following;  
later, the messenger.

Scene 6. Aida alone.

**SETTING II.** (In the temple.)

Scene 1. Ramfis, with priestesses and priests; later Radames.

#### ACT II.

**SETTING I.** (In the chamber of Amneris.)

Scene 1. Amneris, with slaves.

Scene 2. Amneris, Aida.

**SETTING II.** (At the gates of Thebes.)

Scene 1. King, with Amneris; Ramfis, with large following.

Scene 2. The preceding; Radames.

Scene 3. The preceding; prisoners, among them Amonasro.

#### ACT III.

**SETTING** (The banks of the Nile. Night.)

Scene 1. Amneris, Ramfis.

Scene 2. Aida alone.

Scene 3. Aida, Amonasro.

Scene 4. Aida, Radames.

Scene 5. The preceding; Amonasro.

Scene 6. The preceding; Amneris, Ramfis, priests and guards.<sup>2</sup>

#### ACT IV.

**SETTING I.** (In the royal palace.)

Scene 1. Amneris alone.

Scene 2. Amneris, Radames.

Scene 3. Amneris alone; later, the priests.

<sup>1</sup> By *settings* we mean the large divisions in each act, called *scenes* by Verdi, which involve a change of scenery. By the word *scene* we designate those smaller divisions, not specified as such in the libretto, which are marked by the entrance or exit of any important actor.

<sup>2</sup> From Verdi's letters it would appear that originally the third act formed the third setting of the second.—*Ed.*

**SETTING II.** (In the temple. Stage in two stories: above, the altar; below, subterranean crypt.)

Scene 1. Radames alone.

Scene 2. Radames, Aida.

If we consider this scenario, the importance of which will become evident in the following discussion, as a whole, the homogeneous character of the dramatic sequence of events is easily discerned. The first act is merely a matter of exposition, a prolog to the real action which begins with act 2. This action is developed in such wise, that at the close of act 3 we see the apparent triumph of the so-called "counterplay" (personified in Amneris) and the defeat of Aida, the character in which that which is technically called the "play" centres. The conflict in the heart of the hero, Radames, whose outward triumph is purchased at the price of inward misery, prepares the development of the following act, at the close of which we find the "*peripetie*," leading directly to the catastrophe. This catastrophe, which ends the drama, is deferred for a short time by the intercession of Amneris (moment of final tension), but its final consummation cannot be staved off. Thus we see that the Aida libretto agrees perfectly with the classic scheme of tragedy as it has been evolved and endowed with life by the best dramatists of all times and of all peoples, above all, by Shakespeare.

Let us now examine Verdi's share in this masterly construction. We shall disregard the discussions on matters of metre and prosody, which are repeated at times to the point of weariness. Verdi's first letter to Ghislanzoni, dated August 28, 1870, is concerned exclusively with the first act:

Mariette has informed me that we can have as many priestesses as we like. You may, therefore, add them in the consecration scene. (Act 1, Setting 2).<sup>1</sup> Of the changes which you made (in Act 1, Setting 1) I have adopted: the first recitative (Scene 1), the Romanza, *Celeste Aida* (Scene 2), the recitative with the two stanzas of Amneris and Radames (Scene 3). In the *terzettino* which follows (Scene 4), it will be better not to let Aida say too much, and I like Amneris's threat still less.

Verdi's last remark is easily justified. It would not be in keeping with the character of Amneris, which is by no means bad, (she loves Radames truly and faithfully), if at this point she were to utter threats against the warrior.

<sup>1</sup> These scenic indications are taken from the scheme submitted above. They are not Verdi's.

Verdi continues:

The following hymn (Scene 5) is good as it stands, only I should like to have Radames and Amneris take part in the scene to avoid having the two characters standing aside, which always has a chilling effect. Radames need say just a few words. Amneris could take a sword, a banner or something else (*altro diavoleria*) and address her stanza to Radames in a warm, loving, yet martial manner. It appears to me that the scene would gain by this.

The change was made. We know how effective Verdi's suggestion proved. "Aida (Scene 6) is good so. She could not be other than she is."

About the consecration scene (Act 1, Setting 2), Verdi writes on the 14th of August:

If you want my frank opinion, it seems to me that the consecration scene has not turned out as important as I expected. The characters do not always say what they should say, and the priests are not priestly enough... Furthermore, it appears to me that the scenic word (*la parola scenica*) is not there; and if it is there, it is buried under the rhyme and the metre and therefore does not stand out clearly and evidently as it should. Surely one ought to give this scene, beginning at some determined point, all possible importance and solemnity.

On the 16th of August he recurs to the subject:

We must think it over carefully once more in order to arrive at a stronger characterization and greater scenic importance. We must make not a cold hymn but a real scene of it. I enclose a copy of the French program (formulated by du Locle) from which you can see the whole significance of the tableau.

Not until August 22d, after having meanwhile discussed a part of the second act, does Verdi return to this important consecration scene with the words:

This is not the time to write to Mariette, but I have invented something for the consecration scene. If it does not seem good to you let us seek farther. But it appears to me we could thus get a very effective musical scene. The scene would consist of a litany intoned by the priestesses, to which the priests respond, of a sacred dance with slow, sad music, of a short recitative, forceful and solemn like a psalm from the Bible, and of a prayer of two stanzas sung by the priests and repeated by all. And I should like it to be marked by pathos and the character of repose, particularly the first stanza, to avoid similarity between this and the choruses in the finale of the introduction (Act 1, Scene 5) and the second finale (Act 2, Scene 3), which smack a little of the Marseillaise.

Verdi's criticism of the second act on August 16th and 17th is as follows:

The first chorus is cold and insignificant. It is a report such as might be made by any messenger at all. I know very well that there is no action at this point, but with a little skill one might, at any rate, make something of it. There is no action in Don Carlos in the scene where the ladies, grouped under the trees before the convent, await the Queen; nevertheless, by means of a short chorus and the *canzone* in question, which is so characteristic and so full of color in the French text, we succeeded in making a real little scene of it . . . Without aiming at strange rhythms, make double heptasyllabics, that is, two seven-syllable lines in one; and if it does not offend your ear too much, make irregular verses, which, at times, have a great charm in music. Traviata's air *Di Provenza* would be much less tolerable if the verses were regular . . .

(August 17th) In the duet (Act 2, Setting 1) there are excellent things in the beginning and at the end, although it seems too long drawn out. It appears to me the recitative might be expressed in fewer verses. But when, in what follows, the action warms up, it seems to me that the scenic word (*la parola scenica*) is lacking. I do not know whether I express myself clearly when I say '*parola scenica*', but I mean by this the word which sets the situation in the proper relief and renders it clear and evident. For instance, the verses:

In volto gli occhi affisami  
E menti ancor se l'osi:  
Radames vive...

are less effective theatrically than the (for my part, ugly) words

...con una parola  
Strapperò il tuo segreto.  
Guardami, t'ho ingannata:  
Radames vive...

So also the verses

Per Radames d'amore  
Ardo e mi sei rivale.  
Che? voi l'amate? — Io l'amo  
E figlia son d'un rè.

appear to me less theatrical than the words: '*Tu l'ami ma l'amo anch' io, intendi?* *La figlia de' Faraoni è tua rivale!*' Aida: '*Mia rivale? E sia, anch' io son figlia,*' etc. I know very well what you will say to me:— 'And the verse, the rhyme, the stanza?' I have no answer, but I would immediately abandon rhyme, rhythm and strophic form if the action required it. I would write blank verse in order to be able to say clearly and definitely all that the action demanded. Indeed, in matters theatrical it is, at times, conducive to success if the poet and the musician possess the talent of not making verses and music.

With regard to the *cabalettas*<sup>1</sup> he writes farther on:

Have no fear. I do not abhor *cabalettas*, but I should like to have a subject and a reason for them. In the duet in the Masked Ball there was a magnificent pretext. After this whole scene, you may be assured, the loves of Richard and Amelia must be discovered.

How unweariedly Verdi applied the file, we may see in the fact that, even after the score had been long completed and sent to Cairo, he wrote to Bottesini (the conductor of the first performance in Cairo) on the 17th and 19th of December, 1871:

I have made a change in the stretta of the duet of the two women in the second act. Two or three days ago I sent it to Ricordi, who has probably already sent it to Cairo. The stretta, as it was, always appeared to me somewhat common. The new stretta is not so and will close well, if, upon the return to the theme of the scene in the first act, Pozzoni will sing it moving heavily toward the wings (*marciando a stento verso la scena*). When you see the score, you will observe that I have taken the greatest pains with this duet; but inasmuch as it belongs to a genre that is, so to speak, misty (*vaporoso*) the effect may not come up to my wishes. So please tell me the whole truth frankly, for this can only be of service to me. Tell me only of the passage in  $\frac{3}{4}$  in D $\flat$  (Aida's part) and of the other passage, the duet in G $\flat$ . Tell me about the voice part and the orchestra, always with respect to the effect. I expect two letters from you; one after the orchestra rehearsals and the other after the first performance.

On the 25th of August, 1870, Verdi invites Ghislanzoni to visit him for the final revision of the first two acts, so that the letters do not inform us of the later course of the discussions. Yet Verdi's untiring spirit does not rest after Ghislanzoni's departure, and so, on the 8th of September he suggests a new improvement for the second act. The timely reference to the telegram of victory of the first German emperor (shortly after the battle of Sedan) is worthy of note:

After your departure I worked very little and have written only the march, which has turned out very long and full of detail. . . . You must, however, help me a little more, so that the chorus may sing partly the glory of Egypt, partly that of Radames. The first eight verses, accordingly, must be modified. The other eight for the women are good, and eight more must be added for the priests: 'With the aid of divine Providence we have gained the victory. May God continue to help us in the future.' (See the telegrams of King William.)

<sup>1</sup> Cabaletta: a lively strain, easily grasped by the hearer, generally used in ending an aria or a duet.

On the 10th of September, after Ghislanzoni has sent the alterations, he writes:

The verses of the finale go well, but it is impossible to do without a stanza at the end for the priests. Ramfis has a personality and should have something to say. I know that there is little which one might let him say here, and therefore it must be so arranged that the stanza of the priests at the beginning of the finale may be repeated at the end . . . If the situation demands it, you need have no scruples. At this point the priests can do no more than invoke the gods, praying that they may be propitious in the future.

Later in the course of the discussion of the third act he writes abruptly on the 30th of September:

I observe that in the stretta of the finale of the second act we have a chorus of prisoners; it is impossible to let them remain silent (there are at least twenty of them) and they cannot sing with the populace. So arrange some stanza for me here.

Yes—even at the end of his work on this part of the score, on December 31, 1870, Verdi returns to an important point in the second finale. He is of the opinion that the scenic situation requires readjustment. Aida recognizes her father too quickly. If a few words were added, Aida would attract the attention of the spectator more, and the significant phrase, “*è mio padre*” (it is my father), would stand out more prominently. The passage in question is the one in which, in the final form, Aida sings: “*Chi veggio! — Egli? — mio padre!*” In the sketch which Verdi submits by way of suggestion, the words are: “*Che veggio! oh ciel! lo salva — or rè — lo salva! è mio padre!*” Verdi believed that the words “*lo salva*,” which were afterwards dropped, gave more support to the scene, allowed the singer more movement and action and afforded the music a freer field for the preparation of “*è mio padre*.” Apparently Verdi realized later that this version was too long. More effective than it is now it could hardly have been made. This final form, however, was the result of long and detailed deliberation. For instance, as we see from a letter of December 28th, the word *taci*, uttered by Amneris, was struck out because Amneris would have to speak it so quickly, that it would escape the hearer. If on the other hand, it were spoken slowly, it would cast a chill over the action. The words of the tutti *Suo padre!* must follow immediately upon Aida’s *Mio padre!* At any rate Verdi was not satisfied with the original version. His criticism was, that Aida did not “stand” well in the scene at this

moment and did not say just what she ought to say. Of the change which he suggested first he says:

In fine, I have gained nothing, and must do the little scene over again. It is a question of a simple colloquy. But inasmuch as the situation is so important, woe unto us, if the characters do not 'stand' properly or if we say too much.

This extraordinary dramatic solicitude is confirmed in the later letters, from which we learn that Verdi fairly harassed himself with this scene.

Six times, (so he writes in January, 1871), have I written the two verses of recitative in which Aida recognizes her father among the prisoners. The situation is splendid, but perhaps the characters are not staged well (*non sono bene in scena*); that is to say, they do not act as they should act. Have patience, and please write the little scene for me once more, entirely after your own fashion. Do not think of it as it was; just place yourself in the situation and write. At present it looks like this:

*Aida:* Che veggo! — Egli! Lo salva,  
O Rè . . . lo salva . . . È il mio padre!  
*Tutti:* Suo padre!  
*Aida:* Grazia a lui!  
*Amonasro:* Sì, padre — anch'io pugnai, etc.

It is not much, but it is a situation, and it must be done well.

We see here that, compared with the final form, there were still too many words. (*Grazia a lui* and the interjection of Amonasro were dropped later.) But Verdi must first make several other attempts. On the 7th of January he complains despairingly:

I really fear we shall be drowned in a glass of water after having safely crossed the ocean. For the eighth time I have written this piece in vain. The King is not properly staged; but it is better now. I shall drop this piece for the present and go on to finish the instrumentation.

Let us pass on to Verdi's remarks on the third act. On the 28th of September, 1870, he writes:

This third act is very good, although in my opinion, there are several things which must be changed; but, I repeat, on the whole it is very good and I congratulate you upon it sincerely. I see you dread two things. You shrink from certain scenic audacities and from *cabalettas*. I always hold that one must make *cabalettas* if the situation demands it. The *cabalettas* of the two duets (Scene 3, Aida and Amenasro; Scene 4, Aida and Radames) are not required by the situation,

and the duet between father and daughter, particularly, seems to me out of place. Aida, in her state of terror and moral depression, must not sing a *cabaletta*. In the program there are, at this point, two things which are extremely effective scenically, true and good for the actor. In the poetic version they do not stand out in proper relief. Firstly, after Amonasro has said: 'Be the slave of the Pharaohs,' Aida can utter only broken phrases. Secondly, when Amonasro says to Radames (Scene 5): 'The King of Ethiopia,' Radames must hold the stage almost alone with strange, mad, very excited words. But this we shall discuss later.

In the meantime let us analyze this act from beginning to end. In the first chorus the second version seems the better to me. Only we need not repeat what has already been said in the litanies:

Luce divina eterna  
Spirto fecondator.

It would be better to say, as in the program: '*Isole favorevole agli Amori*, etc.' The recitative and romanza (Scene 2) are good.<sup>1</sup> So is the duet which follows the verse: '*Ti maledice... Ah no!*' (Scene 3.) Then, '*Tu, agli miei, Dei Faraoni*' sounds flat to me. And I find this kind of enthusiasm false for Aida: '*Della patria il sacro amor*.' As I have said, after the terrible scene and the insults heaped upon her father, Aida has hardly breath enough to speak. Hence broken words in a low, hollow voice.

I have read the program again and it seems to me that there the situation has turned out well. I, for my part, would abandon the strophic form and rhythm. I did not think of letting the actors sing here and would render the situation just as it is, perhaps even in recitative verses. At the most I might let Amonasro sing one phrase: '*Pensa alla patria, e tal pensiero ti dia forza e coraggio*.' Do not forget the words: '*Oh patria mia, quanto, quanto mi costi!*' In short, I would hold as closely as possible to the program.

Later, on the 30th of September:

The duet between Aida and Radames (Scene 4) is very beautiful in the part that is sung, but in my opinion it is lacking in development and clearness from the scenic point of view. I should have preferred a recitative at the beginning. Aida would have remained calmer and more dignified and would have been able to utter some good scenic phrases... The four verses after the *cantabile* are cold and do not lead up well to Aida's beautiful stanza: '*Fuggiam gli ardori*, etc.' I know that this was done for the sake of strophe and rhyme, but why not make a recitative in order to say everything that the action demands? Observe that in the program also this point required greater development... In the following scene (Scene 5) you feared you would make Aida odious. But reflect that Aida is justified by the duet with her father, yes—by the very presence of her father, and the spectators accordingly know that what they hear is a secret. There is even more

<sup>1</sup> Verdi reversed this judgment later.

Aida can stop quite naturally to make a request of Radames, but after that duet Radames cannot do this. It seems to me the situation is not exactly dangerous, but it may become so. Aida's plea, therefore, which is true and natural, is still to be preferred. Only no superfluous word must be spoken... Here you would like to have a trio, but this is not the time to stop to sing and we must hurry on to the entrance of Amneris.

On the 7th of October Verdi, referring again to the beginning of the third act, praises the first chorus and the recitative of Ramfis and Amneris (Scene 1), but censures Aida's scene which follows, with the unwarrantable criticism that Aida has too much to do in this act (!); in the next sentence, however, he abandons this standpoint and judges more correctly when he says that the original version of the romanza is cold and commonplace. He suggests a change. He would keep the first five verses of the recitative and then offers for the romanza itself the verses which follow here, requesting Ghislanzoni to smoothe out the metre and the rhyme:

Io tremo!  
Si a dirmi vieni eterno addio,  
Del Nilo ai cupi vortici  
Io chiederò l'addio;  
Là in quella tomba gelida  
Forse avrà pace il cor.

In the final version of this scene these verses are used in the recitative. The romanza itself, one of the most beautiful and touching pieces of the opera, was composed much later, after all the rest of the score was completed, as we learn from a letter of August 5, 1871:

The music of the first chorus of the third act, which is not sufficiently characteristic, I shall do over again; and having gotten into swing, I should like to add a little solo piece for Aida, an idyll as you once suggested. Only the verses you made then were little adapted to an idyll. It is true, Aida's character presents itself unfavorably here; but if we go a little farther afield, introducing some memories of her native land, we could get this quiet, peaceful number, which at this moment would act like a balm... Keep for me, at the end of the recitative, some such words as: '*O patria mia — mai ti rivedro!*' They would serve as a refrain at the end of each stanza.

Verdi refers to the new chorus of the third act much later in a humorous letter to Ricordi, dated Turin, November 12, 1871:

As I told you, I have written a new chorus and a romanza for Aida in place of the other four-part chorus, which was composed in the style of Palestrina. With the latter I should have won a 'Bravo!' from

the old periwigs and become a candidate (Faccio<sup>1</sup> to the contrary notwithstanding) for a professorship of counterpoint in some conservatory. But I have been seized with scruples regarding this writing à la Palestrina, and the harmony and Egyptian music!... In fine, it is determined by Fate!... I shall never be a savant in music. I shall always remain a bungler.

But let us return to the regular course of the correspondence with Ghislanzoni. On the 7th of October, 1870, Verdi discusses in detail the scene between Aida and Amonasro (Act 3, Scene 3):

In the next scene I should not like to have Amonasro call Aida. It would seem better to me if Aida, upon turning, should encounter her father and exclaim: '*Cielo! E mio padre,*' etc. And I do not much like the phrase: '*Io del tuo cor leggo i misteri.*' From the lips of this proud and crafty monarch '*Nulla sfugge al mio sguardo*' would be better.

What follows is good, but the ending does not fit the situation. Perhaps I did not express myself clearly in my last letter, but I thought I had told you that this is a scenic moment, which one should dwell upon and upon which one should expend much care. The rôle of Aida must be developed more, that of Amonasro less. If you can find your way well into Aida's situation and will make me four good scenic verses, you shall see that the result will be tolerable and not commonplace.

On October 8th we read:

Once for all, let me remark that I do not ever intend to discuss your verses, which are always good, but to express my opinion on the scenic effect. The duet between Radames and Aida (Scene 4), is in my opinion, much less successful than that between the daughter and the father. The cause of this is that perhaps the situation or perhaps the form is more commonplace than in the preceding duet. Certainly such intercalations, as the eight verses which one character pronounces and the other repeats, are not well adapted to keeping the dialog alive. In addition to this the intermezzi between these *cantabile* passages are rather cold.

On the 16th of October Verdi writes more vigorously:

In order to answer your letter in detail I would need time and we have none to lose at this juncture. Away then with these discussions. Let one thought only preoccupy our minds:—to make a success! For this reason I should be sorry if the changes I have asked you to make were to deaden the effect instead of enlivening it... It seems to me you are too partial to the character of Radames. Let us not argue the point. Be it as you say; but in the duet, for instance, does Radames command the same interest as Aida? It would seem more natural to me if he answered Aida: '*Lasciar la patria, i miei Dei, i luoghi, ove nacqui, ove acquistai gloria,*' etc., but if you do not like this invoice of

<sup>1</sup> Faccio was the conductor of the first Milan performance and the arranger of the vocal score of *Aida*.

glory (*calculi di gloria*), invent something else. Only, if we once enter upon the path of *cantabiles* and *cabaletti*, we must continue on that road, and it would be well to let Radames answer with eight verses the eight lines of Aida . . . In Aida's romanza (Act 3, Scene 2), let us dispense with prima donna considerations; surely none of them will complain of this. On the other hand, if their fatigue should be too great, they would not do justice to the duets which follow. Then there are other considerations. The first chorus is *grave*, the scene of the priests and Amneris is *grave*, the re-entrance of the chorus is again *grave*. If now, we add still another scene and romanza, slow and *grave*, we will bore people.

I have composed this romanza. It was not a success!... '*Fra il verde dei palmizi, sul Nilo*,' etc., would not, you say, be very idyllic. I am entirely agreed with you, but this must really be an idyll. One must, as Filippi<sup>1</sup> would say, perceive the odor of Egypt and avoid '*l'orfana, l'amaro calice delle sventure*,' etc., and find a new form. But here I have arrived at an argument again. Excuse me.

In the fourth act, to which Verdi now directs his attention, he asks, before all else, for a cut in the duet of Amneris and Radames (Setting 1, Scene 2). Inasmuch as the letters mention a visit of Ghislanzoni and Ricordi to Verdi for the purpose of fuller discussion, we may assume that most of the deliberations on the fourth act were conducted orally. We read further on about this duet:

Develop the situation... and let the characters say what they must say without the slightest regard for the musical form. Understand, that if you send me recitative from beginning to end, it will be impossible for me to write rhythmical music for it, but if you adopt some particular rhythm in the beginning and hold to it to the end, I shall by no means find fault. Only we might have to change it in order to have a *cabalettina* at the end.

And later we read of the same duet:

I believe that the duet should begin right off in the lyric form. In this opening there is, if I mistake not, something lofty and noble, especially in Radames, which, perhaps, I should like to have sung—a style of singing *sui generis*, not the style of the romanzas and cavatinas, but something of declamation, sustained and lofty,—the metre of your own choice. Break up the dialog, if you believe that you can thus give it more life.... If we cast the whole duet in lyric form, do you not think that the first scene needs more development?

Then he goes on to the great judgment scene in the fourth act, which on the whole he finds "marvelous," on a par with the similar scene in *Il Trovatore*. But for Amneris he would like two

<sup>1</sup> A critic who also reviewed the first performance in Cairo.

"more desolate" verses, so written, that he may take a portion of them for repetition each time Amneris hears a new accusation from the judgment chamber in the crypt. Amneris, as Verdi rightly maintains, cannot remain upon the stage continually while the terrible sentence is being pronounced, without some exclamation of despair.

In the meantime Ghislanzoni has revised the duet. Verdi thinks it pretty good but too excited and strained. The *cabaletta* is too long for the situation. "O, these confounded *cabalettas*, which always have the same form and are all so much alike! See whether you can invent something new." Over and over again he returns to the duet upon which he bestows particular care. A remark in an undated letter is of unusual interest:

(Wednesday) I studied the duet for a long time and am more than ever convinced that we must cast it in lyric form to the end. It will seem strange—a melody to words that appear to be spoken by an attorney; but under these lawyer's words beats the heart of a woman overwhelmed by despair and by love. The music may turn out a grand success, if it expresses this state of mind and, in a way, says two things at once. That is a quality of art which critics have not considered well and conductors not treated properly.

Another undated letter (*Sabato*) says:

The invective outburst of Amneris is stupendous. This piece, too, is completed. I shall not go to Genoa before the opera is entirely finished. It wants only the last piece and the setting in score of the fourth act and the instrumentation of the whole opera—work for at least a month. Be patient, therefore, and make your arrangements so that you can come to S. Agata without being pressed for time, for we must bring the whole libretto well into shape.

Finally the duet was rewritten to Verdi's satisfaction. In another undated letter (*Sabato*) he says: "But how very beautiful this duet is—very, very beautiful! After the duet of Aida and Amonasro in the third act, this seems to me the best of all. If you could find some new form for the *cabaletta*, this duet would be perfect." In one passage we read this admonition: "Do not be afraid of Amneris's invectives against the priests." Amneris must turn like a tigress upon Ramfis.

On the 2nd of November, 1870, Verdi received the last scene, which, on the whole, he finds good. After having studied it carefully he says:

In less expert hands this scene might either be choked to death or become monotonous. But it must not be a failure, because, if, after all

this effort at stage setting, it should not be sufficiently well developed, it would be a case of *parturiens mons*. The monotony must be avoided by the invention of new and unusual forms.... The French also, in their strophic songs, use verses which are sometimes long and sometimes short. Why could not we do this at once? This whole scene need not necessarily be one of pure and simple singing. A somewhat unusual metre for Radames would constrain me to depart from the conventional form of melody for seven- or eight-syllabled verses and would compel me to vary the movement and the time in order to write an aria-like solo for Aida.

In a later letter Verdi requests the librettist to leave out the customary "agony" and to avoid conventional expressions: "I should like something sweet and ethereal, a very short duet, an *addio alla vita*. Let Aida sink gently into the arms of Radames." Then Verdi sketches the scene exactly as it was finally carried out. As Ghislanzoni delays too long in smoothing out the "monstrous" verses that Verdi has dashed off, the latter simply sets them to music as they stand and calls upon the librettist to visit him in person in order to make as much *ex post facto* improvement as he can. We have, accordingly, in the scene just at the end of the opera, the staging of which was also suggested by the composer, the work of the poet-musician, Verdi. "Have no fear," is his final admonition to his co-worker, "for the last scene, that we may be scorched by it. It is cold steel."

This practically ends the correspondence between Verdi and Ghislanzoni. Later letters to other friends inform us of other details. For instance, on the 13th of January, 1872, Verdi writes that he has just finished an overture to Aida, a piece which, as we all know, was later discarded, and which but a short time ago was found again among the papers left after his death. Of all these later letters about Aida the most interesting is probably one to the conductor, Vincenzo Torelli, in Naples (August 22, 1872). Verdi assumes a very energetic manner:

By good elements of performance I understand not only the solo singers, but also the orchestra and the chorus, the costumes, the scenery, the machinery, the scenic movement and finesse of color scheme. It is all very well, pardon me once again—but you Southerners have no idea of what I mean by *movimento scenico* and *finezza di colorito*. The conditions in Rome and Naples are far too wretched (*giù di strada*) to stage a spectacle properly, as Aida was performed in Milan, Parma and Padua. I repeat once more, it does not suffice to have two or three good singers. Furthermore, one hundred people in the chorus are not enough for Aida. And they must be good—as good as in Milan. Money

alone will not do it, there must be good will also. I shall see how things go in Naples. If the elements are good, I shall look after everything; if not, I shall withdraw the score even after the dress rehearsal. No one will persuade me to produce *Don Carlos* as you have heretofore done it, nor to produce *Aida* as you are accustomed to do all your operas.

Can we not imagine that we hear Gluck or Richard Wagner speaking here? We see that Verdi, too, establishes the canon of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the collective work of art, in which music, poetry and scenic art support and complement one another. The extracts from the letters have given us a splendid illustration of how the master coöperated down to the smallest detail in the poetic side of this work.

(*Translated by Otto Kinkeldey*)

## RUSSIAN HUNTING MUSIC

By JAROSLAW DE ZIELINSKI

**I**T WAS under Augustus I, and his son Augustus II the Strong, the "Saxon Man of Sin," as Carlyle called him, that Dresden, an old Slavonic city which Herder has since defined as "The German Florence," became known to the world. Here lived in 1746 one Anton Josef Hampl, attached to the reigning house as court and opera musician, and this man, scarcely ever noticed in our musical biographies, discovered in 1760, accidentally, that the natural tones of the French Horn could be lowered half a step by inserting the hand into the bell! Five years after this discovery the horn's beauty of timbre was demonstrated in Paris when Jean Joseph Rodolphe, a remarkable musician of his day, played the horn concertante part to the air "Amour dans ce riant bocage" by Pascal Boyer, as sung by the famous tenor, Josef Legros.

Having heard of great possibilities in the imperial city of St. Petersburg, now Petrograd, another French Horn player, Johann A. Maresch, unknown but soon to become famous, decided to go there and seek fortune. Maresch was a native of Bohemia, born in 1719 at Chotieborz, and he showed from his youngest days a remarkable aptitude for music, especially the French Horn, a favorite instrument at that time with the Czechs. He had the earnest support of relatives and friends, for the times were strenuous and the Prussians were pounding their way into Prague. So with his instrument under the arm, Johann A. got to Petrograd in 1744, just about the same time that Lestocq, the Franco-German adventurer, actual Counsellor of State and first Court Physician to the last of the Romanoffs, Elizabeth I, had left for Kieff, accompanying his mistress who had been now Empress of Russia for three years.

Maresch was not slow in pushing himself forward, and in a short time became known to Alexis Petrovitch Bestousheff, at one time a protégé of Lestocq, but later one of his most bitter enemies. Bestousheff was the descendant of a certain Gabriel Best from the county of Kent, England, who had come to Russia in 1413, a hundred and forty years in advance of Richard Chancellor whose landing at Archangel took place in 1553. Most of

the Englishmen who went to Russia in those days were either traders or craftsmen; one in particular, John Villiers, unknown to the world at large, built in Moscow the famous tower, and his name in consequence was corrupted into Ivan Veliky, that is, "John the Great."

Alexis Petrovitch Bestousheff had been vice-chancellor a couple of years, and though destined to be all-powerful, he was more anxious to please his mistress who often spoke of her unbounded physical and moral repulsion toward him. Entering in 1744 upon the exalted office of Grand Chancellor, a festival in honor of the Empress was in order at the chancellery. Maresch was one of the soloists, and Elizabeth was so pleased with his art that she engaged him forthwith, conferring upon him also the title of chamber musician.

Prior to this event the court's musical favorite had been a peasant from Little Russia, a young man whose bass voice literally made the windows rattle in the diminutive country church where he sang Sundays. The way this singer was discovered is told in an interesting fashion by Colonel Feodor Stepanovitch Vishnievsky who had been sent to Hungary to buy wines for the cellar of Anna Ivanovna, niece of Peter the Great. On his return journey, crossing Ukraina, the colonel stopped at the village Lemiohy; it was Sunday, and like all good orthodox Russians, Feodor Stepanovitch went to church, where he was startled with the tremendous bass voice of a young peasant, Alexy Gregoryevitch by name. The youth's father was a registered Cossack, and an inveterate drunkard who beat the boy whenever a chance offered, and one time tried to kill him by throwing an axe at his head. This old reprobate's name was Gregory Yakovlovitch, but everyone called him "Razoum" (understanding), for when drunk he would persist in saying: "Ha! what a head, what knowledge!" Of course, the colonel carried off the young man and presented him to Elizabeth, for which he was rewarded with rank of major-general and an exalted position at court. In love with the beautiful voice and handsome peasant, Elizabeth conferred upon Alexy Gregoryevitch, later Razoumovsky, the title of chamber musician, upon which he promptly lost his voice.

Of these affections, so generously bestowed by the Tsarina, Johann A. Maresch found himself at times a beneficiary, viewed with a jealous eye by Bestousheff, Lestocq and Naryshkin, not to mention Razoumovsky. Of course, Elizabeth flattered herself that Russia teeming with imitations was Europe, and while she corrected to a certain extent the morals of her clergy, she and her

court led in scandals the other courts of Europe; Saxony, Prussia, Denmark, England, Spain and Portugal, in which the respective rulers set the example of most licentious manners. Many writers have tried to saddle this excessive freedom of morals on French society, but indeed such were the doings of the Russian and other courts that Versailles could have easily passed for the first asylum of virtue.

Directly under the orders of the Marshal of the Court, Simon Kirillovitch Naryshkin, who had also the direction of the Imperial Chapel and Theatre, Maresch was charged with the improvement of the very primitive Russian Hunting Horn, which must not be confounded with what we call a Hunting Horn, Flügel Horn or Post Horn; really it is but a simple conical tube of brass bent the fourth of a circle at its smaller end, as in the accompanying picture. There was much to accomplish, and the first thing that



Maresch undertook was the tuning of those instruments, so crudely constructed by tinsmiths that their pitch differed at times a whole step. After establishing a uniform pitch, he had the instruments tuned in thirds, fifths and octaves, so that when united they could give the major chord of D (D, F#, A, D).

When hunting, sixteen horn-blowers were employed; these were peasants who had no idea of music, but when they met each one would sound his horn, and as each horn could give but one sound, the intervals of the chord of D major were heard, or the complete chord, according to the combination of the moment. Some enthusiastic admirers of Maresch have acclaimed this fanfare of horns to have been his glorious invention, dating from 1751, but as far back as the "Well-beloved" Louis XIV, many fanfares for the hunt were composed and selected by that monarch with the help of his master of the hunt, Monsieur de Dam-pierre.

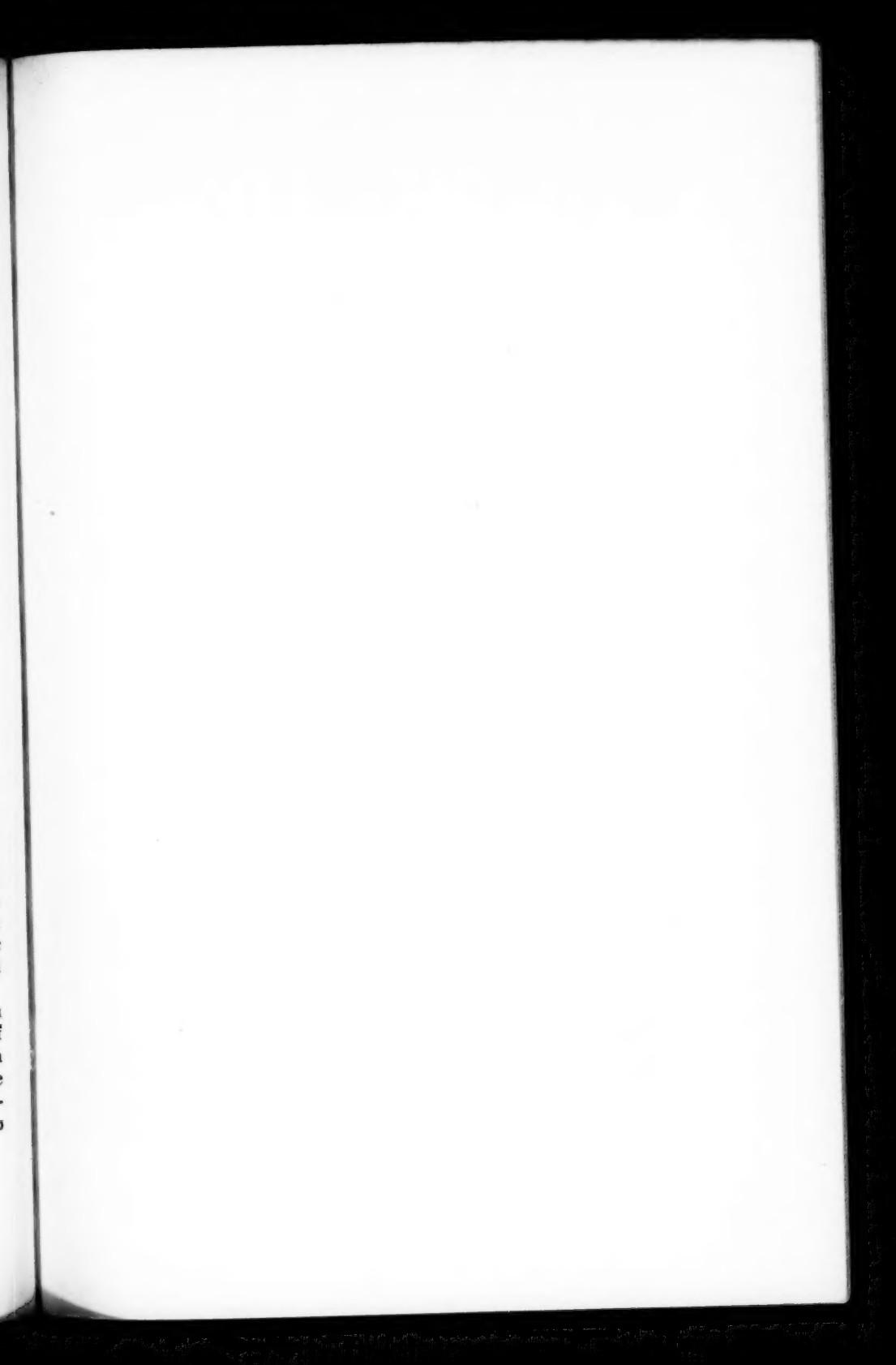
Of course, the very first result obtained by Maresch delighted Naryshkin, the ex-betrothed of the Empress, to such an extent that he conceived the brilliant idea of using horns for the rendition of instrumental ensemble. One can imagine the horror with which poor Maresch, chamber musician of Elizabeth I, was

overwhelmed when this extraordinary notion was communicated to him, for, while the peasants combined under his orders knew how to blow individually into their instruments, their musical knowledge was there at an end. Nevertheless, he did not shirk the idea, and formulated a way of making each one hold his part in an ensemble without teaching him music for that purpose; indeed, such a course would have presented insurmountable difficulties.

The first move was the construction of twenty-five horns, tuned like the pipes of an organ and able to produce two complete chromatic octaves. The next step was to invent conventional signs that would replace the usual notation. Of course, that was easy, especially so because of the fact that each horn could produce but one sound; this turned the pseudo-instrumentalist practically into a machine; the only remaining difficulty was to teach him how to count the measures and rests! So each note was written the same as a quarter note, while silence was indicated by |—|, which sign corresponded with our quarter rest; furthermore, each part had at the beginning the name of the note and octave to which it belonged. The movement was developed during the study of the piece, while in view of the tremendous sonority of the band, Maresch had to use a bell to indicate the measure.

There was much profit to Maresch in what he taught, for in calculating how to teach others, he taught himself, and the instrumental ensemble that he chose to be accompanied by these hunting horns he made up of twelve horns, two trumpets and two post horns. The first four pieces prepared for this band were written in F major, and the twelve horns were divided as follows: one in C $\sharp$  (alt), which like the C or D horns in alt was seldom if ever used; these horns present a meager timbre of very poor quality, and examples of their use do not exist in the scores of classic writers; six horns in D, one in E, two in A and two in C. In place of kettle-drums he used two machines made up in the form of a drum; each one had four bells tuned in major third, perfect fifth and octave; when set in motion one machine would give the tonic chord of D major (D, F $\sharp$ , A, D), the other that of dominant chord (A, C $\sharp$ , E, A).

This strange instrumental combination lasted a year, when Naryshkin began to show dissatisfaction with the difficulty of keeping together so large a number of foreign horn-players, in order to combine them with the hunting horns; in truth, the financial charge was at the bottom of all trouble, for these peripatetic musicians, not particularly overgifted, knew how to



The Band of Russian Horn Players at Practice.



extort big pay and undeserved considerations. Otherwise Naryshkin was quite encouraged with the success of these first efforts, and asked Maresch to teach twelve hunters to play the horn, giving him a year in which to accomplish the task. Overwhelmed by this new fantasy of the Grand Marshal, and well aware of the insurmountable difficulties to overcome in teaching the moujycks that were detailed for such instruction, Maresch worried greatly and finally decided that the best way would be to use the hunting horns alone. Such was the real origin of Russian Hunting Music.

First, he wrote two easy pieces in three parts, which were put into practice at once at a tremendous expenditure of time, labor and patience; but the reward was near. At a banquet to which he was invited, Naryshkin was again in a faultfinding mood; this time because Maresch was not making a show of hurry to carry out his wishes. This was the cue, and bringing together his pupils who had been in waiting, Maresch made their ensemble playing reveal what he had accomplished, for he made no use of the foreign horn-players. Of course, the success was beyond all expectation; Simon Kirillovitch Naryshkin folded Maresch in his arms and declared the combination by far superior to the mixed ensemble of hunting horns and other horns whose tones were too weak for the former. There was haste in the séance that followed, and it was decided without much ado, that henceforth the hunting horns would form an ensemble of their own without the aid of other instruments. This necessitated an extension of the band's compass to three complete octaves, and musicians of renown were now invited to contribute some of their compositions.

Among those who were so honored was Johann Gumpenhuber, a virtuoso attached to the Imperial Chapel. The instrument on which he excelled was the pantaleon, a sort of large tympanon or dulcimer with gut and wire strings, invented about 1690 by his teacher Pantaleon Hebenstreit. This German musician, also a violinist of renown, found himself in Paris in 1705, and having been presented to Louis XIV, he played on his newly invented instrument at Versailles before the Grande Monarche and his court. The King was delighted and forthwith baptized the instrument by Hebenstreit's first name, "Pantaleon."

In 1757, two years after the founding at the center of the empire, of the University of Moscow by Elizabeth's young favorite, Ivan Schouvaloff, Naryshkin organized a grand hunt in honor of the Empress, and gave a concert with his hunting band in the gardens surrounding the hunting lodge of Izmayloff, a suburb of

Moscow, before Elizabeth and her court. The affair was a great success and Elizabeth so well pleased that she appointed Naryshkin master of the hounds and ordered a similar band to be formed at once for her. So the band heretofore recognized as Naryshkin's hunting music, became known as the Music of the Imperial Hunt, and Maresch was appointed Kapellmeister with an increased financial remuneration as reward for his untiring efforts.

The successful development of the band was rapid, and following a false conception, the Music of the Imperial Hunt was employed to accompany Hermann F. Raupach's opera "Alcesta," given at Petrograd in 1779, where the composer had been appointed by Catharine II orchestral director of the opera.

Historians who have written on the subject of these horns have expressed widely divergent opinions; some claiming that these instruments were of wood, others again maintaining that they were of brass! It was in 1779, however, that the brass horns were replaced by wooden horns covered with brass; they were straight, and lacquered on the inside, which was supposed to render their tone more soft, making it possible to use them oftener in place of ensembles made up of clarinets, French horns, bassoons, etc. The making of these hunting horns was confided to expert workmen, and their manufacture was quite expensive. To overcome the greatest difficulty, that of perfect attunement, Maresch added a tube to the lower end of each instrument which made it possible to lengthen or shorten it, consequently to get it in tune.

Among the pieces played by the Music of the Imperial Hunt were the overtures to "Henry IV" (Martini), "The Deserter" (Monsigny), "La Belle Arsène" (Monsigny), "Le Tableau Parlant" (Grétry), "Le Marchand de Smyrne" (Haindl) and "Zemire et Azor" (Grétry), while fugues for four voices were given with a precision that no organist could excell.

The drawing here given is taken from "Entstehung, Fortgang und jetzige Beschaffenheit der Russischen Jagdmusik," by Johann Christian Hinrichs. Born in Hamburg in 1760, Hinrichs went to Russia when about twenty years of age, and in time became known as Hinrichs, professor at the School of Statistics founded by the Government; the book referred to came out in Petrograd in 1796 when the Russian Hunting Music reached its highest point of excellence. The large folio of xiv and 24 pages was published by one Schnorr; it contains plates presenting pictures of the instruments and their description, the tablature in score and examples of music. In addition, it has a biography of Maresch.

The story is told of Joseph II, he who benefited by the dismemberment of Poland: when on a visit to Peterhof, the Tsar's residence near Petrograd, he heard for the first time the Russian horns, and was startled by the effect they produced. He desired to have Maresch presented to him, and after listening to a thorough explanation of the mechanism of his music, the Emperor tapped him familiarly on the shoulder, exclaiming: "Bravo! that's fine! Only you require forty men for this work which I can accomplish with one man, playing the organ. But then you have here numbers of men, enough to form easily a couple of companies!"

About 1796 there were nine bands of hunting music in Petrograd, among which were those of Prince Patiomkin and Wadkovskoi. Russian Hunting Music was heard in 1817 at Mannheim in a most successful rendition of a Te Deum; another similar band was heard in Paris toward the end of 1833 in the hall of the "Concerts Montesquieu."

This music of the Imperial Hunt is certainly the most remarkable musical curiosity of the eighteenth century from Russia. Its merit lies entirely with the Bohemian Maresch, a celebrated man one hundred and fifty years ago, but to-day entirely forgotten and seldom mentioned even in biographical dictionaries.

## THE STUDY OF THEORY IN MUSIC TEACHING. IS IT SOUND? ~

By A. REDGRAVE CRIPPS

**W**E are fond of congratulating ourselves on the progress made within recent years in music; and, be it said at once, not without cause. There is one respect, however, in which little if any progress has been made: and unfortunately it is the most important of all, since it underlies everything else. It is in the *teaching* of music.

Assuming, for the moment, that the fact is as stated, let us consider the reason for it. It lies on the surface. Improved methods of education are not generally thought of in the abstract, but nearly always in connection with some particular subject: some time, therefore, must always elapse before they are applied to other subjects. Music has somehow a position by itself; and it is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that music teaching has hardly been touched by the new spirit which has within recent years entered into education.

What, then, are our present methods? It is not very easy to answer this question quite definitely. There must always be a certain amount of diversity in teaching, just as there is in the individual characteristics of the teachers themselves. But, apart from minor differences, which are comparatively small and unimportant, there is a general agreement as to what is (within limits) the proper way of teaching music. There are certain general underlying ideas that practically all teachers have in common; ideas which are, in fact, almost taken for granted.

We may, perhaps, take the course of study at our great schools of music as fairly representing our present teaching. We find that in all of these the pupil's studies are divided into two kinds: the practical and the theoretical. By the *practical* is meant lessons in the principal and second studies, whatever they may be (such as singing, piano-playing, etc.); by the *theoretical* is meant lessons in Harmony, Counterpoint, etc. With the first of these—the practical—we need not for the present concern ourselves; the lessons which the pupil receives in these will, obviously, only affect him directly in these particular subjects.

## The Study of Theory in Music Teaching. Is it Sound? 61

The theoretical course, as we have just said, is divided into separate studies, such as Harmony, Counterpoint, and (when the student is more advanced) Canon, Fugue, etc. Now it should be noticed in the first place (and the point is important) that this division is entirely artificial, and does not exist in actual music. We may speak of Harmony and Counterpoint and Melody and Rhythm as if they were separate things, but in reality they are so inextricably mingled together that it is quite impossible to separate them,—even in thought. (Even the simplest music consists of more than one of these, and in more advanced works the various elements of effect are often so compounded together that one without the others would be absolutely meaningless.) What justification, then, is there for separating them in study?

It is true that music may, on analysis, be reduced roughly to certain constituents (though other elements enter into it which the theorist generally takes no note of, such as the peculiar tone quality of the various instruments, etc.); but that is surely no reason why those constituents should be studied separately. But not only are these subjects taught quite separately, they are taught as if they really were separate,—one might almost say, as if they were in opposition to each other. How often, for instance, is the pupil told that a certain chord or progression is allowable in Harmony, but not in Counterpoint. Nothing could be worse than this. Not only does it (as has been said) separate the two things most completely in the student's mind, but it has another and even worse effect. He comes to think that the only test of the rightness or wrongness of anything he has written is whether or no it conforms to the "rules" of some particular branch of theory; whereas the real test is, of course, (to put it roughly) "Does it sound well?"

But however separate these studies may seem to the student, they have at least one thing in common: viz., that none of them has any real relation to actual music. That this is so is clear even in the case of Harmony exercises. But in Harmony exercises it is not so much because they are different to real music, as because they show only one side of real music,—the relation of chords; they might possibly—some of them—be taken for rather dull hymn tunes. But what is to be said of "Strict Counterpoint"? Here the want of relation with actual composition arises simply from the fact that the two things have nothing whatever to do with each other. The exercises which the student has to write have no resemblance to any music that ever existed; they cannot be sung by any combination of voices or played by any combination

of instruments. They are, in fact, paper music, pure and simple; mere combinations of notes fitted in one against the other (like a Chinese puzzle) in accordance with certain arbitrary rules. Indeed, this study of Strict Counterpoint is so utterly artificial, and so far removed from all real art work, that one almost wonders what it can possibly be founded on—how it ever came to exist at all. As a matter of fact it is simply a survival of the ancient teaching of music.

Mr. Rockstro at the beginning of his little book on Counterpoint gives a list of authorities (whom he regards with almost pathetic veneration) on whose teaching, he says, the purest rules of Counterpoint are based. Of these authorities only one, and he by no means the greatest (Cherubini) has any connection at all with the history of music as an art. All the others were merely speculative theorists; men, such as Fux and Albrechtsberger—who were quite out of touch with the real art even of their own day.

Indeed, many of the rules laid down by these old writers are so antiquated, that modern theorists have been almost compelled to modify them to some extent. Hardly any theorist now-a-days would have the hardihood to assert (for example) that Canti Fermi should be written in the old modes. But these well-meant attempts to bring the study up to date have really done much more harm than good. For, since the whole thing is founded merely on speculation, and not on the actual practice of composers, each man has felt perfectly free to alter it in accordance with his own ideas. The natural result is an extraordinary diversity of opinion among theorists. It is perfectly safe to say that no two text-books on Counterpoint agree in their teaching; and this disagreement is not so much on little trivial things as on really important points. It would be quite easy to fill several pages with examples of these conflicting statements; but there is really no need, as nobody can possibly have studied the subject without being struck by them. The differences among theorists are, indeed, notorious; but the cause of these differences has not hitherto been properly recognised. The cause is that there is nothing to appeal to—nothing that the various theories can be tested by; and one man, therefore, has as much right to lay down the law as another.

The other studies, which generally come later, such as Canon and Fugue, might seem at first sight to have rather more to do with real music, but the resemblance is only superficial. There is all the difference in the world between the ordinary theoretical

## The Study of Theory in Music Teaching. Is it Sound? 63

conception of Fugue and the same form in the hands of a great master like Bach. The one is simply an exercise in contrapuntal combination—about as dry and mechanical as anything well could be; the other is an art form. And this holds good of all the other more advanced contrapuntal studies, such as Double and Triple Counterpoint, Canon and Imitation. These things are devices which composers make use of occasionally—we might almost say incidentally—in the course of their works, and to study them separately is absurd. In any case the exercises which the student is called upon to work are utterly unlike any examples that are ever met with in real composition.

Most theorists will indeed admit this at once. "But," they will argue, "these studies are not intended as practice in actual composition; they are merely preparatory work—a species of mental gymnastics." Such an argument, carried out logically, would justify almost any course of study. There is probably no form of mental application which is *absolutely* useless (either to a music student or anyone else); and it might be proved—say—that a course of mathematics would be of use (in some remote and round-about way) as a preparation for musical composition. In defending our present theoretical course, it is not enough to prove that it has some value as mere mental training; the question is—has it any direct bearing on the study of music?

Not only, however, are these studies bad in the negative sense that they do no good, but they are also bad in the positive sense that they actually do harm. It is a commonplace of science that if any faculty is neglected for any length of time it will gradually grow weaker and weaker and in the end cease to exist. It is impossible for the student to spend a number of years—and those too, generally the most impressionable years of his life—on these utterly barren and mechanical studies, without injury to his musical nature—his originality, imagination, and so forth.

It may be said that many famous composers have gone through such a course of study without apparently suffering much harm from it. It may be so; but then these were men of the highest musical powers, men whose genius was strong enough to triumph over the deadening influence of their early training; just as it was strong enough to triumph over many other obstacles. But because a few men of genius have succeeded in spite of an irrational system of training, that is surely no reason why the same or a similar system should be imposed upon others. About the only possible ground on which our present system can be

defended is that it is a sort of Spartan method of weeding out all but the very fittest.

After all, the best test of any system is the practical one. We have only to ask the student fresh from a course in harmony and counterpoint, to write an accompaniment to a melody, or to do some other such simple thing bearing some resemblance to composition; and observe how utterly at sea he is. All the "rules" that he has learnt are somehow no help to him; he has no idea how far they apply to his new task—or, indeed, if they apply at all. By writing innumerable harmony and counterpoint exercises he has acquired a certain amount of skill; but, unfortunately, it is only skill in writing harmony and counterpoint exercises; for actual composition, or anything approaching to it, he is little, if any, better off—even in a technical sense—than he was at the beginning of his studies. One of our foremost composers, who is also a professor at one of our leading institutions, is in the habit of saying to his pupils when they go to him for the first lesson—"Now the first thing I want you to do is this: *to forget all you have learnt.*" The advice is excellent; but the unfortunate pupil may be pardoned for wondering why—if his knowledge of theory was never to be of any use to him—he was ever required to acquire it at all.

Indeed, the more closely we consider the matter, the more evident it becomes that what is wanted is nothing less than a complete revolution in our methods of musical education. No tinkering or patching up can really do much good. Before considering what should take the place of our present system, it may be advisable to inquire more particularly what is fundamentally wrong with it. From such an inquiry we may possibly deduce those general principles that should—and indeed must—underlie any rational course of musical education; and we shall therefore be in a better position to map out such a course.

## II.

The object of our present training—so far as it can be said to have any clear object at all—is to afford the student some preparation for actual composition. But not only is this object (as we have seen) at the best only imperfectly realized; *the very idea is in itself wrong.* It is wrong because it is based on an utterly wrong conception of education. Teachers and educationalists have come to the conclusion that the best possible test of any teaching is whether or no it is in accordance with the natural

process of development—as revealed in the unconscious workings of the minds of infants and animals. There is no need to enter here into any discussion as to the rightness or otherwise of this principle—the time has long since gone by for that; we merely take it for granted.

Let us then apply this test to the teaching of theory. Perhaps the closest possible analogy in nature to the student just beginning the study of composition is that of an infant just beginning to speak. The analogy, indeed, is about as close as could be: for not only is the student just as unable to express himself musically as the child is by speech, but neither, at the beginning, has really anything to express; the ideas of each—in the one case musical, in the other general—are so very vague that they can hardly be said to exist at all. For the sake of simplifying matters, however, we will first consider how the child actually learns to speak; that is to say, how it learns to articulate clearly—to pronounce the word it wants to (supposing that its mind is sufficiently developed to "want to"). On this point there is fortunately no doubt whatever; the child learns to speak simply by trying over and over again to speak; not by any artificial exercise of the muscles of articulation: and there is no reason to suppose that any such exercises would in any way facilitate the process. The general conclusion that this suggests is supported by everything that we know of in nature. To quote the words of Herbert Spencer, in his book on Education:

Everywhere throughout creation we find faculties developed through the performance of those functions which it is their office to perform; not through the performance of artificial exercises devised to fit them for those functions. The Red Indian acquires the swiftness and agility which make him a successful hunter by the actual pursuit of animals. . . . And similarly in all cases. From the Bushman whose eye, habitually employed in identifying distant objects that are to be pursued or fled from, has acquired a telescopic range, to the accountant whose daily practice enables him to add up several columns simultaneously; we find that the highest power of a function results from the discharge of those duties which the conditions of life require it to discharge. And we may be certain, *a priori*, that the same law holds good throughout education.

But further. The child, as we have seen, learns to speak simply by constant practice. But the question may be asked—"Why is it that the child ever tries to speak at all?" Without attempting to go at all deeply into the subject, one thing is fairly clear; and that is that the child learns to speak *because*

*it has something to say.* Ideas are necessary to speech—this is self-evident—and it is only because the infant has ideas that it is capable of speech at all; so that the ideas are the *motive force* (as we may say) that produce the speech. Our present musical training, however, exactly reverses this natural order; its object is to provide the student with a fairly complete technical equipment first—as a preparation, it is to be supposed, for such time as he may have ideas to express—leaving the ideas to come after; this, of course, is simply putting the cart before the horse.

That the conclusion, too, which we have drawn from the analogy of nature is correct, is proved by the whole course of musical history. People did not find out how to express themselves in terms of music first, and then actually do so afterwards. It is only because they had ideas which they wished to express that they ever came to express them; and it was only by actually trying to express them that they ever learnt to do so. This is seen, if possible, even more clearly in the lives of the various composers. There is no instance of a musician acquiring a complete technique before beginning to compose. Each man had to find out for himself how he could best express his own particular ideas; and this he could only do by actually trying to express them.

But the true method of teaching is not only suggested by the analogy of nature; and the conclusions that may be drawn from the whole course of musical history, and the lives of the various individual composers; it is almost thrust upon teachers (if they would but see it) in the natural musical development of a child. Did not almost every great composer first attract attention to his gifts, when a child, by trying to pick out tunes on the piano, or in some such way? And what is more common than for a child of any real musical talent to make some attempts at composition? Of course, these early attempts are extremely crude and babyish; but that is not the question. The point is that the child has certain ideas—however vague they may be—which it is trying to express; and all that is really necessary is that the teacher should simply aid and guide this natural development. Unfortunately, what usually happens is that, as soon as the child has drawn attention to its natural talent, every possible care is taken to stifle that talent: all natural development is entirely checked, and its place is taken by an utterly irrational course of artificial training. It is really little wonder that so few children of great musical talent ever fulfil their early promise; the only surprising thing is that any survive at all.

III.

The application of the principles clearly implicit in the foregoing considerations is evident. Music teaching should be in almost all respects exactly the *opposite* of what it at present is. Instead of being dogmatic, it should be sympathetic and tentative; instead of seeking to split up into its constituent elements and present them to the student *separately*, it should aim at the general development of his musical nature; instead of trying to provide the student with an artificial technique long before he has anything to express, it should leave his technique to grow itself from his natural need of musical expression. It is obvious that this would carry with it great changes in the teaching of the so-called "practical" subjects (the only teaching that would in fact be given). Here we come on a wide field, and one, of course, into which it would clearly be impossible to attempt to enter fully here. But it may be said briefly that these subjects, one and all, would be taught less with a view to more particular technical excellence than to development of the pupil's general musical nature. That is to say, they should be taught so as to do for the student what the so-called "theoretical" studies are supposed to do for him at present. To say this, however, is perhaps after all only to say that the practical subject would be taught generally, as all best teachers at the present time do try to teach them.

It is, indeed, only when these subjects are taught rightly that any right teaching of composition becomes possible: for the study of composition would in the natural course of events grow out of them. If the pupil has any natural talent for composition (and it is, of course, only with such cases that we need deal) it will be sure to show itself, in various little attempts at self-expression: and these attempts, instead of being checked or ignored, should be encouraged. It is not very easy to indicate, in so many words, the exact course that the teacher should pursue; but his general attitude may be best expressed by saying that he should endeavour to aid the natural development of the pupil, without in any way interfering with it. Anything approaching dogmatic teaching should be entirely avoided. It is quite impossible for any student, at an early stage, to understand and really appreciate the real meaning of any rules—that is to say the principles which underlie them; and to learn merely to observe the letter of the law, without this appreciation of its spirit, is worse than useless. The aim of the teacher should be to develop the pupil's musical sense; and the only way in which this can be

done, is to constantly appeal to it directly. Thus, if the pupil is told that anything he has written is wrong because it is contrary to some rule or other, he is taught to substitute what is to him an altogether artificial standard for his natural musical sense, which is thereby (if only from non-use) weakened; whereas, if the teacher would only try to make him hear and feel for himself that what he has written is wrong, his natural musical sense would, instead, be strengthened and developed.

Not only would a technique be in this way acquired more easily and more quickly than it could possibly be by artificial means, but there is no comparison in the kind of technique; for while one would be exactly suited to the student's needs, the other could, at the best, only touch on them at one or two points, and then only imperfectly.

Of course, the success, in practice, of any such teaching as this, would depend to a very great extent on the teacher himself. It is here that the difficulty in the way of reform lies. For before anything can be done, we have to educate our educators, or rather, they must educate themselves. Things are, however, tending in the right direction. There is already a sort of dim and hazy recognition among teachers of practically all the principles that we have laid down; most of them, indeed,—however absurd they may possibly seem when presented in their bare form and pushed to their logical conclusion—are altogether too obvious to be entirely disregarded. But they need to be more fully and clearly recognized; and—above all—applied to actual teaching.

One word may perhaps be hazarded in conclusion. It is perhaps only when music takes its place definitely as part of our educational system that any right system of music teaching will become possible. But that is clearly too large a subject to enter upon here.

## FERRUCCIO BUSONI AS A COMPOSER

By HUGO LEICHTENTRITT

IT is a common experience in the history of arts that the world will fail to appreciate an artist, however famous he may be, as soon as he shows an ambition to distinguish himself in a field of activity alien to the one in which he acquired his first fame. Thus it happened to Franz Liszt. His pianistic genius was admired without reserve, unanimously, all the world over, but in his capacity as a composer he had to combat most serious opposition throughout his life, and even now there is a considerable divergence of opinion on this topic, although the importance of Liszt the composer has become sufficiently manifest. Similarly, Ferruccio Busoni is esteemed as a pianist of the first order, but his remarkable achievements as a composer are hardly appreciated at their full value. It is the purpose of the present essay to analyze the rather complicated character of Busoni the composer, to characterize his art, to show its development and to appraise its importance.

The artistic career of Busoni may be sketched briefly by way of introduction.

Ferruccio Busoni was born on April the 1st, 1866, in Empoli, near Florence. His father was Italian, his mother partially of German descent; this racial mixture in their son is also clearly evident in his compositions, and one of their principal characteristics. He commenced as a child-prodigy, like most of the great musicians. Piano-playing and composition were equally familiar to him, and his skill in both was remarkable even in the years of boyhood. Between eight and thirteen (1874-79) he wrote the compositions which were published as Op. 1-4. He was taught by his mother; later, for several years, he was a pupil of Wilhelm Mayer-Rémy in Graz (in Austria), a pedagogue of considerable reputation, who was also the teacher of Kienzl, Heuberger and Weingartner. In 1882 he was made a member of the celebrated Philharmonic Academy of Bologna. In 1888 he became professor at the conservatory of Helsingfors in Finland. There he married shortly afterwards. This residence in Finland was not without importance for his artistic development; just at that time the

national Finnish school of composition had begun its activity, mustering composers like Kajanus, Järnefelt, and especially Sibelius. In 1890 he was awarded the Rubinstein Prize for composition, and for a short time afterwards he held a professorship at the Moscow Conservatory. His international fame dates from about this time. 1891-94 he spent in America, playing and teaching at the New England Conservatory in Boston. From 1894 up to the present time he has lived in Berlin, his residence there being interrupted, however, by frequent tournées all over Europe and America.

His pianistic development was straight enough; less so his growth as a composer. For a number of years it was doubtful whether his pianistic gifts or his capacities as a composer were more remarkable. Though the success of his compositions was very encouraging, though he possessed a considerable mastery of the technique of composition even as a youth, he still came to the decision that it would be impossible for him to follow his high artistic ideals and to excel both as a pianist and as a composer. From his twenty-fifth to his thirty-fifth year he concentrated his efforts mainly upon his pianistic studies, slowly developing his individual and unique style of playing. These years of artistic growth were not lost for the composer, although he wrote little during this period. It became evident to him that the traditional style of writing which characterizes his earlier compositions was not the way which could lead him to the goal he had in mind. The problem for him was to develop a personal, individual style, to take an active part in all progressive movements. How he solved this problem will be shown by an analysis of the compositions he has written since about 1900. Almost from year to year one can see the advance into regions hitherto inaccessible, the conquest of new means of expression in harmony, rhythm, and colour. Each new composition of these years was of startling novelty at the time it appeared, and met, as was natural, with strong opposition, which, however, calmed down in a comparatively short time.

Of these mature efforts, each one excels the foregoing as regards new technical devices, new effects of sound, new problems of composition. This does not necessarily mean that in æsthetic, artistic value one work is dethroned by the following—artistic value and novel means of expression are not necessarily in equal ratio. The mile-stones marking this progressively ascending path are the following compositions: Piano concerto, *Turandot* suite, opera *Brautwahl*, Elegies and first Sonatina for piano, Berceuse

and Nocturne for orchestra, second Sonatina for piano, Indian Fantasy. From the study of these compositions will be seen what contributions the composer Busoni has so far made to the treasure of the world's musical literature, in what manner he has enriched it, and how he reveals new beauties and impressions which only a mind like his could discover and impart.

Thus the main stress of this essay will have to be laid on these compositions; the rest (the earlier efforts) will be reviewed somewhat summarily, as preparatory to the real life-work of the artist, although necessary for an understanding of the second half.

The earliest published compositions date back as far as 1874-79. These first attempts of the boy were:

Op. 1. Ave Maria, for solo voice and piano

Op. 2. Ave Maria No. 2, " " " " "

Op. 3. Cinq pièces pour piano (Preludio, Menuetto, Gavotte, Etude, Gigue). Op. 1-3, published by Cranz, Leipzig.

A *six-part mass, a cappella* was written while Busoni, as a pupil of Mayer in Graz, also attended the Seminary, where he received instruction in church-music.

The second group of compositions, from 1880-85, is much more weighty and ambitious. It comprises a number of pieces, some of which were not published until years afterwards.

Op. 4, 5, 6 (Wetzler, Vienna) are piano pieces, a Scherzo, Prelude and Fugue, and Scène de ballet. The second "Scène de Ballet" (Op. 20), and Variations and fugue on Chopin's C minor Prelude (Op. 22), (both published by Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipsic) also belong in this group. The close sequence of scène de ballet, prelude and fugue, variations and fugue, is worthy of remark. Two main characteristic traits of the composer Busoni are already displayed in his beginnings: the light dance-rhythms and the intricate contrapuntal style, the Italian and the German manner. A number of songs are attempts in a direction which Busoni later pursued no further. These sporadic lyric compositions comprise Op. 15 (Gutmann, Vienna), two songs; Op. 18 (Kistner, Leipsic), two Old German songs; Op. 30 and 31 (Schmidl, Trieste), Album Vocale, four Italian songs and two German songs. Well made though they be, these songs show nevertheless that instrumental music is the natural idiom of their composer. The piano accompaniments, especially in the Old German songs, are worked out most carefully, but they lack the right proportion to the vocal part, which seems secondary in importance.

The early piano pieces, though hardly original in the higher sense of the term, nevertheless rank with the best piano music written in their time, if one excepts great composers in full maturity like Brahms and Saint-Saëns. The second "Scène de Ballet," Op. 20, shows Italian traits in its lightness, its elegance of treatment;—indeed, the light hand and a distinct Romanic grace are very distinctive features of Busoni's music. One might describe this composition as a Schumann Novelette translated into Italian. It is dedicated "to his beloved mother and teacher, Anna Weiss-Busoni."

During this period were also written Twenty-four Preludes for piano, and following these Seven Études for piano (Op. 16), dedicated to Johannes Brahms, (Gutmann, Vienna). At the age of 16 Busoni wrote a huge score of 300 pages: "*Il sabato del villaggio*," to a poem by Leopardi, for soli, chorus and orchestra. This cantata, performed in the Teatro comunale of Bologna, has never appeared in print. The "Variations and Fugue on a prelude by Chopin," Op. 22, are the most extended and most ambitious published work of Busoni's younger years. They show the other side of his nature, a meditative mind of German stamp, eager to solve difficult problems. Here Busoni does homage to Brahms, whose famous Händel Variations are clearly recognizable as model. Nevertheless, these eighteen variations deserve to be known on account of their musicianly solidity, their effective construction, their interesting contents.

During the years 1886-91 Busoni turns his attention to a field which later was ploughed and tilled by him with never-ceasing care. The first of a long series of transcriptions appear at Breitkopf & Härtel's: Symphonies by Mendelssohn and Mozart, ouvertures and other orchestral pieces by Schubert; and Gade's then much-admired Novelettes were arranged by Busoni for piano, two or four hands. Still more important are the first transcriptions of Bach's organ compositions, the preludes and fugues in D and E flat. These, as forming a class by themselves, will have to be dealt with in a special chapter.

Of compositions during these five years the following should be mentioned:

- Op. 19. String Quartette No. 1 (Kistner, Leipsic).
- Op. 23. Little Suite of 5 pieces for 'cello and piano (Kahnt, Leipsic).
- Op. 24. Two Songs for low voice and piano (Kahnt, Leipsic).

- Op. 25. Symphonic Suite of 5 pieces for orchestra (Kahnt, Leipsic).
  - Op. 26. Second Quartette, in D minor (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipsic).
  - Op. 27. Finnish Folksongs, for piano 4 hands (Peters, Leipsic).
  - Op. 29. First Sonata for violin and piano (Rahter, Leipsic).
  - Op. 30a. Two Piano Pieces (Rahter, Leipsic).
- Without opus number, "Kultaselle," ten short variations on a Finnish melody (Dietrich, Leipsic) for piano and 'cello.

Of all these compositions, the *String Quartette*, Op. 26, is perhaps the most valuable. In style it stands about midway between the last Beethoven and Brahms. A certain austerity, a lack of sensuous melody, is characteristic of Busoni. It is written admirably for the instruments, with full knowledge of the peculiarities of the string-quartette, all four parts being worked out very carefully. The first movement, *Allegro energico*, is passionate, virile, rhythmically very subtle. The *Andante con moto* is much more quiet, in the manner of Brahms, subdued in emotion. A splendid scherzo follows, of obstinate energy, with a softer intermezzo of brighter colours. An andantino movement introduces the vigorous finale, a lively piece with touches of humor.

The Rubinstein Prize was awarded to Busoni for a number of compositions, among which the *Konzertstück* for piano and orchestra is the most extended. It is published as Op. 31a by Breitkopf & Härtel, and dedicated to Anton Rubinstein. A serious, well-made, effective composition, visibly influenced by Brahms's D minor concerto. Busoni's individuality is only dimly noticeable in it.

The two little *Tanzstücke*, Op. 30a (Leipsic, D. Rahter), which also belonged to the group of the Rubinstein competition-pieces, are very characteristic, however, of their composer, especially in the second edition (1914). They are named "Waffentanz" and "Friedenstanz," two little miniatures full of *esprit* and capriciousness. The composer of the *Turandot* music is foreshadowed here. The brisk, alert, cleanly cut, sharply pointed music reminds one of the fine contrapuntal style of old Italian masters like Frescobaldi or Scarlatti. Its pulse beats "staccato" and "vivace."

The *Six Pianoforte Pieces*, Op. 33b (Peters edition, Leipsic, 1896), also belong here. They are not free from various influences,

but already they show the hand of a master in many touches. They are written splendidly for the instrument, and show a very remarkable ability to orchestrate, as it were, in ever-changing colours, without transgressing the pianistic character. No. 1, "Melancholy," is pathetic, sombre, serious, in the manner of Liszt: declamation of the tenor melody apportioned to both hands, accompanied by soft arpeggio passages flowing around it. No. 2, "Gayety," *tempo di Valse, elegante e vivace*, a mixture of Liszt's and Busoni's peculiar Italian manner. No. 3, "Scherzino, vivace e giocoso," a study in tone-repetition, somewhat similar to Saint-Saëns' style. No. 4, "Fantasia in modo antico," gives evidence of Busoni's organistic tendencies, which later were centered in Bach. Here he writes a serious piece in the manner of the classical Italian organists, like Frescobaldi. No. 5, "Finnish Ballad," a sombre piece, of a peculiar fantastic quietness—a souvenir of Busoni's stay at Helsingfors and his familiarity with Sibelius and other Finnish composers. No. 7, "Exeunt omnes," *pomposo, marziale e vivace*, somewhat Schumannish.

Of earlier orchestral works, two deserve special attention, Op. 32a and 34a. The "Symphonic Tone-poem" (*Symphonisches Tongedicht*, Breitkopf & Härtel, Op. 32a), dedicated to Arthur Nikisch, was written during the American sojourn of Busoni. I remember having heard the initial performance under Nikisch's direction at a concert of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1893. This date will help to explain the nature of the composition. Busoni's personality is hardly visible here. The score has a marked resemblance to the early works of Richard Strauss, such as *Don Juan*, *Tod und Verklärung*, *Macbeth*. This resemblance is perhaps less due to a direct influence, than to the models and starting-points at that time common to Busoni and Strauss: the traces of Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner are easily discernible in both. Busoni's work is not lacking in interesting traits, both in symphonic development and orchestral treatment: one may adjudge it, if not a "Meisterstück," at all events an excellent "Gesellenstück" which proves its author's fitness to be promoted to the dignity of a master in due time.

A decided step forward toward this magistral dignity is taken in the *Second Orchestral Suite*, Op. 34a (Breitkopf & Härtel). This *Geharnische Suite*, composed in 1895, shows (especially in its remodelled version of 1903) unmistakably the hand of Busoni. Its four movements are dedicated to friends from Helsingfors, Jean Sibelius, Adolf Paul, Armas Järnefelt, Eero Järnefelt. Recollections from northern shores are discernible in the spirit

which breathes in these martial sounds, these rhythms full of obstinate northern energy, these austere, plastic melodies. Technically there is a great advance in the terse form, the economical use of harmonic and orchestral resources, the sureness with which the effects aimed at are reached, the clearness of construction and development. The whole manner of writing shows a considerable resemblance to Sibelius' symphonic work. In all four parts there is a power of working up to impressive climaxes which always assures the effect of this suite. The first piece, "Vorspiel" (Introduction), is severe in measured, march-like rhythms, rather dark in colouring. No. 2, "Kriegstanz" (War-dance), is perhaps the most original part of the whole suite; only the composer of the *Turandot* music could have written this brilliant piece. No. 3, "Grabdenkmal" (Funeral monument), in the rhythms of a funeral-march, very northern in sentiment and colouring; the climax in the middle has a splendid effect, and no less impressive is the gradual descent from it to the close in softest *pianissimo*. The fourth part, "Ansturm" (Assault), is a finale of impetuous energy; here and there a slight trace of motives in the *Brautwahl* music. The soft intermezzo is a wise trait. This *Allegretto marziale*, with its introduction, sounding as if it were a faint echo of far-off fighting, forms a happy contrast to the stormy motion and fiery energy of the close, at the same time preserving the unity of sentiment.

The *Violin Concerto* has of late become somewhat familiar through frequent performance. The young Hungarian violinists Szigeti and Telmanyi especially have played it often. The composition dates back to 1898; it was published years afterwards as Op. 35. The rather simple harmony, the less progressive treatment, compared with the piano concerto, and the influence of Brahms and Liszt, are the outward signs of the early date of composition. Of Brahms' violin concerto one is reminded by the key, D major, and the rather Brahms-like principal theme with its effective entrance in the highest octave after extended passage-work on the organ-point of the dominant at the very beginning. In form the concerto follows the model of the Liszt concertos; though written in one movement only, the three sections of the sonata-form Allegro, Andante, Finale are marked clearly, and the thematic material in all three parts flows from a common source. The second section, *Quasi andante*, a hymn-like piece, of broad melodic outlines with an *agitato* intermezzo, is the most striking part of the whole, musically. It has the austere beauty characteristic of Busoni, an elevation of sentiment which

approaches the splendid beginning of the piano concerto. The introductory allegro and the finale are brilliant, effective and spirited violin music, though hardly fully expressive of their author's individuality.

The Second Sonata for piano and violin, Op. 36a (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipsic), stands on the border-line between the first and second epochs of Busoni. While its technical apparatus does not transgress what was customary at the time of its production, still the individuality of the composer is distinctly visible, perhaps more than in any other work previous to the piano concerto, Op. 39. Indeed, this sonata might be called a prelude to the still greater concerto. There are many points of resemblance between the two works in the mixture of mysticism, fantastic traits, profound seriousness with brilliant romantic *élan*. The lofty and sublime spirit of the last Beethoven sonatas and of Bach's organ works is alive here. Form and idea of this sonata have marked resemblance to Beethoven's Op. 109. It begins with a slow introduction, a meditative piece, sombre, subdued, with accents full of grief, towards the middle rising to a brilliant climax, *assai deciso*, in dotted, march-like rhythm, then again sinking down and disappearing in a murmur, *soavissimo e calmo*. It leads without interruption to a Presto movement of tarantella character, full of incessant motion, ever growing in energy. A second *Andante piuttosto grave* follows, meditative, tranquil, dark, like the very beginning of the sonata. It serves as an introduction to Bach's choral-melody, "Wie wohl ist mir, o Freund der Seelen," which enters with marvellous effect, spreading, as it were, a mild light, bringing consolation to the troubled heart. A series of variations on this choral forms the finale; No. 1, smoothly flowing figuration; No. 2, *Alla Marcia vivace*, reminding of certain parts of Beethoven's last quartettes; No. 3, a sort of perpetuum mobile for the violin, accompanied by short chords of the piano in the style of thorough-bass; No. 4, contrapuntal fantasy on the theme; No. 5, starting very quietly, constructed in broad dimensions, rising to a powerful climax which marks the beginning of the 6th and last variation. Impressive gradual descent from the climax, leading back to the introduction of the first movement and combining with it the choral. The close, *apoteotico, quasi sacro*, of mystic sentiment, religious elevation.

There is hardly anything in this sonata which will help towards making it popular, but serious-minded, musicianly listeners will have to award this sonata a permanent and prominent place in its class.

I have a vivid recollection of the first performance of Busoni's piano concerto at the Berlin Beethovensaal in 1904. Dr. Muck conducted the Philharmonic Orchestra, Busoni played the piano part. The public was dumbfounded at the startling "ugliness" of the music; the verdict of the press was almost unanimous against the composition, which was called barren in invention, a scandalous outgrowth of modernism. Ten years later, the same concerto was greeted with enthusiasm, its ugliness, its modernism seemed no more offensive, a wealth of imagination was seen in it which contrasted strangely to the "barrenness" formerly attributed to it. In short, musical people saw that a rare masterpiece was laid before them which they could not understand a decade before, but which seemed intelligible now, after Richard Strauss's *Salome*, after Debussy, Scriabine and Schönberg had been listened to and more or less appreciated. Nowadays it seems strange that one should ever have had a doubt about the value of this monumental composition, so convincing and logical does it seem. As a concerto this symphonic work forms a class for itself. It is not, like the Chopin concertos, a solo piece with orchestral accompaniment, nor does it resemble the Mozart or Beethoven concerto as a contest between piano and orchestra; and in spite of the importance of the orchestral part it cannot be called a symphony with piano obbligato, like the Brahms concertos. Busoni takes "concerto" in the older sense of the word, as a coöperation of several bodies of sound; the piano, a large orchestra, and a six-part male chorus collaborate to produce a symphonic whole. The solo part is, of course, sparkling with virtuosity, yet without assuming the principal rôle in the ensemble; in an original, novel way it is rather of coloristic, ornamental effect. The thematic framework of this symphony in five movements is furnished by the orchestra. The piano throws over it a flexible, glittering, ample veil, dazzling, brilliant reflexes of light and colour. The real character of piano-style, constant motion, has nowhere been brought out in so brilliant a manner, except by Liszt. There is nothing massive, nothing inflexible, everything is resolved into motion, into flowing figuration. The artistico-technical motive of this style of writing is not the straight line, but the manifoldly broken line. Scale-figures, broken-chord figures, the tremolo, the trill in many new variations, are the elements of this figural technique. A second characteristic trait of Busoni's piano-treatment is his peculiar use of chord-playing, octaves and the *martellato* element, which is of prime importance in piano technique; herein the plastic expression, the sharply marked rhythm, has its

source, being derived from chords, octaves, *martellato*, wristwork and armwork ("schlagendes Spiel") in contradistinction to the gliding manner of playing necessitated by the smooth flow of running passages. This combination of vertical and horizontal lines, this complicated design, obtains shades and colours by the extraordinary art of pedal treatment which this score demands. The ear hears much more than the notes show: long-sustained tones, the intermingling of different resounding chords, produce various new harmonic effects, a sonority rich in gradations of strength and colour. The original sound-effects of this score come from the peculiar combination of piano and orchestra, from the manner in which the piano dives into the waves of the orchestra, works its way to the surface again and glides along, as it were, caressingly; then rushes on like a foaming mountain-stream, challenging the orchestra with an expression now imperious, now plaintive, or alluring, or sobbing, or imploring, or jubilant, while the orchestra pursues its way calmly.

The construction of the concerto is similar to that of a sonata. In place of the regular first "movement" form, a "prologo e introito" is put. The "pezzo giocoso" corresponds to the scherzo, the "pezzo serioso" to the adagio. The fourth movement, "All' italiana," has the character of a brilliant finale. To close the concerto with this bacchantic piece did not, however, agree with the idea of the entire composition. The serious groundtone of the whole was to be brought out yet more strongly, and so the composer added a fifth movement, a solemn male chorus (to pantheistic verses from Oehlenschläger's drama "Alladin"), this "cantico" corresponding to the calm and solemn "prologo."

Early in his career Busoni fostered an affection for dramatic music which, later repressed for many years, has recently been revived. His first operatic attempt dates back as far as 1889. This still unperformed opera, *Das versunkene Dorf*, was written to a text by Frieda Schanz, entitled, *Sigune*. Still earlier (as a youth of seventeen years) Busoni had an animated exchange of letters with J. V. Widmann of Berne, the distinguished Swiss writer, concerning an opera-libretto. The poet Adolf Wilbrandt had given young Busoni an introduction to Widmann. The proposed libretto was to be a dramatic version of Gottfried Keller's famous novel, "Romeo und Julie auf dem Dorfe," the same subject which was later taken up by Frederick Delius. Keller, asked about this affair, replied with characteristic roughness, "This novel runs after me like a shorn poodle!" Nothing came of this plan. Widmann then proposed a Spanish subject

from Alarcon, which finally was also abandoned, because in this piece the two lovers never got a chance to speak a word to each other, and because the thousand Marks demanded in payment by Widmann exceeded by far the resources of the ambitious young composer.

Twenty years later Busoni returned to dramatic music with intense interest. The first, successful step in that direction he made with the music to Gozzi's fantastic Chinese fairy-tale *Turandot*. The greater part of the incidental music to this drama has been combined in the form of an orchestral suite, in which shape it can be performed with great effect at any symphony concert. The *Turandot* suite, in its fantastic, bizarre, exotic style, is one of the most picturesque and fascinating productions of our age. It belongs in a class with compositions like Borodine's symphonic sketch, "In the Steppes of Central Asia," Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Scheherezade," Delius's "Appalachia." What attracted the composer was the opportunity to revel in exotic, Oriental colouring. He has been extremely successful in this endeavour. The grotesque, bizarre, noisy or languid music in which the Oriental delights is reproduced here, not so much with realistic fidelity, in imitation of "genuine" Chinese music, but in artistic form, appealing to the imagination. The music sounds as if it were Chinese, though it is in fact the product of an Occidental mind, for whom the exact imitation of the real Chinese model would always be unnatural and unattainable. Here, as often in art, the appearance is more artistic than the real thing would be. The means for suggesting to the imagination the Oriental local colour are the use of scales foreign to our music, of strange harmonic effects, the monotonous *ostinato* rhythms of Oriental dances, and a most brilliant, luxurious, gorgeous and characteristic orchestration; all this is managed with a great economy which heightens the artistic effect. The first piece, "The Execution, the City-Gate, Taking Leave," is founded on a sort of *basso ostinato*, over which a strange wailing phrase raises its penetrating voice. How expressive the flourish at its end, the plaintive scale-figure running up and down! With a few strokes the situation is painted most vividly. This sureness of attack is characteristic of the entire score. The character of each piece is marked clearly and forcibly, developed with admirable logical consistency and technical mastery. No. 2, "Truffaldino," *introduzione e marcia grottesca*, is very different from the merciless, cruel "crimson" coloured impression of No. 1. A humorous piece, vivid and busy, running to and fro with little steps, telling its tale with a thin,

penetrant voice. How grotesque the sound of the march for the wind-instruments alone, with bells, triangle, drum, timpani and bass drum! No. 3, "Altoum" march, is a grave, solemn march to accompany the entrance of the emperor Altoum. No. 4, "Turandot" march, is the principal piece of the score; a mixture of solemnity, capriciousness, enchanting grace, tenderness and passionate expression. It contains passages of rapturous beauty, such as the broad melodic intermezzo towards the middle, where violins and clarinets, viola and 'cello, sing *dolcissimo*, imitating each other in canon, accompanied by a complicated rhythmic design of fascinating capriciousness, trumpets, triangolo, tamburino, tamburo and piatti mixing their sounds. No. 4, Introduction to the third act, "Das Frauengemach," combines the pale sounds of flutes, harps with the clear, ringing trumpets, piano, soft timpani and triangle. The total effect is that of a sugary, languid beauty, just exactly what the drama required here. No. 6, "Dance and Song," is of a soft, effeminate, voluptuous grace, with a languid chorus for women's voices in the middle. No. 7, "Nocturnal Valse," brings a contrasting effect very welcome at this moment. A sombre, fantastic, mysterious piece, very characteristic of Busoni. Bass-clarinets, bassoons, trombones, trumpets, strings *pizzicati*, are combined with a striking, novel effect. No. 7, the closing piece, begins *in modo di marcia funebre*, but soon finds its way into a spirited, frolicsome and brilliant *finale alla Turca*.

The six "Elegies" for piano, published in 1908 (Breitkopf & Härtel), are closely related to the concerto, the *Turandot* music and the opera *Brautwahl*. In fact, several of these elegies are transcriptions or sketches of parts of the *Turandot* and *Brautwahl* music. A comparison with the "Harmonies poétiques et religieuses" and "Années de pèlerinage" by Liszt will show affinities of style as well as differences, points of departure toward new aims. The individual traits of these elegies I see principally in the combination of a masterly polyphonic style in the manner of Bach, with colour-effects of extreme modern sensibility. In this ingenious polyphony Busoni has found new possibilities for the piano, even beyond Liszt. By the alternate use of the hands, by utilizing every little pause and availing himself very cleverly of the pedal, Busoni has shown the possibility of playing the most complicated polyphonic music on the piano, such as formerly must have appeared impracticable. And he gets at his aim in an extremely pianistic way. The two hands learn to play what looks as if three or four hands were required for it; moreover, it sounds

most effective, and combines the maximum of sound-effect with the least possible inconvenience of playing. Every technical difficulty rewards the labour. No. 2, for instance, "All' Italiana," shows in the "Tarantella" a striking example of Busoni's ingenious setting, the hands alternating in the playing of the melody in order to gain time for the chords of accompaniment. Harmonic innovations are the frequent sounding together of the minor and major chords, in successive figuration sustained by the pedal; the strange and fascinating effects obtained by welding different chords into one compound sound. Thus, No. 3, "Preludio alla corale," employs towards the close an arpeggio of seven successive thirds piled upon each other as an accompaniment-figure.

Closely related to the Elegies is a set of piano pieces *An die Jugend* (Jul. Heinr. Zimmermann, Leipzig, 1909). Its title must not induce the belief that these pieces are intended for youthful beginners. They are dedicated (like the Elegies) to some of the pupils and younger friends of Busoni, hence their title; here Busoni has in view the younger, progressive artists. In the main these compositions are studies in polyphonic, contrapuntal writing, after Busoni's individual idea of this style.

No. 1, "Preludietto, fughetta ed esercizio," was later taken over by the composer into his first sonatina, of which more will have to be said in the sequel. No. 2, "Preludio, fuga e fuga figurata," is a study after the third prelude and fugue of Bach's "Well-tempered Clavichord." The prelude and fugue are first played in their original shape; in the "fuga figurata" Busoni brings a very clever and effective combination of both. No. 3, "Giga, bolero e variazione," treats in a similar manner two brilliant piano pieces by Mozart, the variation at the close combining both. No. 4, "Introduzione, capriccio ed epilogo," starts with a fantasy on a theme by Paganini, for the left hand alone, joins to this the extremely brilliant capriccio in the style of Liszt, and finishes with an *epilogo* in the fantastic manner of Busoni—this *epilogo* likewise forming part of the first sonatina later.

In the same year (1909) a piano piece, *Nuit de Noël*, was published (Durand et Fils, Paris), which might be described as an homage to Debussy, whose manner of writing Busoni approaches here very closely—by the way, an exception. An impressionistic sketch of great charm of sound.

The two *Sonatinas* for piano belong to the class of music called "problematic." Their means of expression are so unusual that it becomes difficult for most listeners to arrive at the essence, the real contents of the composition. The novel sound of the

music is baffling to the hearer, secondary effects tend to distract his attention, so that the way to the artistic contents is barred. In such cases it is prudent to suspend judgment until the new language, its grammar and mode of expression, have become somewhat familiar. There is a very marked difference in degree of progressiveness in these sonatinas, however.

The first Sonatina (published in 1910 by Julius Heinrich Zimmermann, Leipsic, and dedicated to Rudolph Ganz) is by far the simpler of the two, although far from simple in itself. Its title "Sonatina" is justified merely by the small dimensions of its single parts, the intimate character of the music, the absence of "greatness" in the usual sense. But it is difficult enough to play, and not at all fit for beginners, as one might perhaps conclude from its title. What is most striking at a first hearing is the perfection of form, a characteristic trait of Busoni's music in general, but especially impressive in this particular case. Its thematic material is limited to the two simple motives:



All four parts (which are combined into one extended movement according to the Liszt model) are occupied merely with a treatment of these two motives. The first part, corresponding to the first sonata theme, brings the exposition of theme (a), "semplice, commovente," develops it in a working-out section to a climax, and leads back to a varied repeat, thus rounding off the first section. "Più tranquillo," corresponding to the second sonata theme (b), is worked out in *fugato* in the second section. The third part, "Allegro elegante," corresponds to the working-out section. It brings quaint figurations in the whole-tone scale accompanying motive b. A resounding *fortissimo* brings this part to a close in the manner of a brilliant cadenza. The fourth part, corresponding to the coda, goes back to motive a, brings a fantastic improvisation which also interweaves motive b, and brings the sonatina to a close, very expressively, in soft *chiarooscuro* tints obtained by different chords melting into each other, with passages in parallel fifths. Of these harmonic peculiarities more will have to be said in the section of this essay devoted expressly to that subject. The idea underlying the construction of this sonatina is remarkable. It corresponds equally well to the several parts of the typical first "sonata" movement and to the several movements of the sonata:

- Section 1: first theme—or first movement (Allegro moderato).  
“ 2: second “ — “ second “ (Andante).  
“ 3: working-out part or finale (Allegro).  
“ 4: taking up first theme, and coda or coda (Allegro).

The *Second Sonatina* (1912, Breitkopf & Härtel) proceeds into new regions much more resolutely than any of Busoni's former works. It abandons entirely the maxims of tonality, of regular measure and of harmony based on the triad. This piece has no particular key, it is written without any signature, and every sharp or flat is marked every time it occurs. But quite apart from this manner of writing there is no possibility of determining a certain key even in the single sections. The ordinarily accepted system of cadences, of modulation, cannot be applied here. Chords are not formed in the way of triads, by the superposition of thirds, but rather more frequently by a conglomeration of seconds, fourths, fifths—indeed, hardly a single triad occurs in the whole piece. There is no time-signature; the piece follows approximately the “free rhythms” of the old Dutch composers; it does away with the single bars, dividing a piece regularly. Forsooth, a problematic composition, as problematic as is possible without departing altogether from our system of tempered tuning, our chromatic half-tone scale, the keyboard of the piano. But one feels that this scale, this keyboard, are fetters which the composer would gladly abandon, if there were to be found a practicable way of doing so. What, then, is the effect of this strange composition? One must hear it played by Busoni himself in order to get an adequate idea of its peculiar fascination of colour, its intricate design. It is best characterized by the words which form its heading: “Il tutto vivace, fantastico, con energia, capriccio e sentimento.” In fact, these words might be applied to Busoni as a composer in general. His distinguishing characteristics are vividness, fantastic imagination, strong energy, capriciousness and profound sentiment.

In many of his compositions Busoni has evinced an exceptional mastery of the contrapuntal style of writing. The acme of this style is reached in the *Fantasia contrappuntistica* for piano (Breitkopf & Härtel). This composition, dated 1910, was written during the American tournée of the artist. It is based on several fugues from Bach's Art of Fugue, especially that marvellous fragment which Bach was working at during the last days of his life. A number of musicians have tried their wits at the task of completing this grandiose torso. But, while working at it,

Busoni turned the contrapuntal, technical study into an original composition. He aims rather at building a new structure around a ruin than at merely restoring the ruin. Thus he gains peculiar beauties from the contrast of old and new, from the juxtaposition of the severe Bach style and the nervous Busoni style, from the fusing of these heterogenous elements into one compound whole of peculiar aspect. There are two versions of this fantasia. The larger one begins with an extended prelude on the choral-melody "Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Dank," a strange piece of music, of sombre, timid expression, with a few moments of brightness interspersed. This weighty choral-fantasy serves as introduction to the series of fugues now following. John Sebastian Bach has the word now for a while. After the two fugues from the "Art of Fugue" the third one (half finished by Bach) on the theme B-a-c-h appears. This fragment Busoni brings to a close in a powerful climax. It is followed by a mystic intermezzo on B-a-c-h, which takes up the opaque colours of the prelude. Three variations follow on the themes of the three fugues. A rhapsodic cadenza leads into the fourth fugue, in which Busoni erects a magnificent structure from the four themes of the different fugues, employing all devices of contrapuntal art, double and triple counterpoint, inversion, augmentation, diminution. This quadruple fugue is worked up to a most impressive climax, after which the choral melody returns, now soaring in ethereal heights above the menacing murmur of the deep *basso ostinato*; a close of majestic power, firm and broad, crowns this astonishing piece of workmanship, elevated to the height of a true work of art by passing through the mind of an artist of boundless aspirations.

The Fantasia contrappuntistica is hardly apt to arouse the enthusiasm of the ordinary concert-public, because its intensity is too uninterruptedly strong. It will be the privilege of the musician to appreciate fully and to enjoy the spiritual loftiness of this composition. A second version of it is not only considerably abridged, but quite different in some respects. The choral-prelude is shorter—in fact, a new composition; the intermezzo with variations and cadenza is omitted entirely.

Two small orchestral pieces, the *Berceuse élégiaque* and the *Nocturne symphonique*, show the fully developed, mature style of Busoni, his individuality clearly marked. The orchestral mass is dissolved here into individual elements. The intimacy, perspicuous clearness, delicacy of tone-colours desired necessitate the suppression of the massive, loud-sounding instruments, like trumpets and trombones. A new kind of "polyphonic harmony"

is used. Not one part is written against the other, not one group of instruments balanced against another, but tone against tone, every single instrument against some other. The music looks very simple, but its proper performance demands an infinite subtlety, otherwise pieces of this kind are easily turned into caricatures. Different chords run into each other, major and minor are sounded at the same time, unexpected chord-combinations clash one upon another. In the Berceuse, for instance, towards the end the celesta plays in A major and the harp at the same time in C minor. The resulting sonority is not, as in arithmetic, the simple sum of the component parts, but something new, totally different, due to the shading of the single *valeurs* of colours, as the painters call it. As in the second sonatina, new chords composed of seconds, fourths, sevenths abound here, showing that chord-effects are possible in ways different from the ordinary superposition of thirds.

The Berceuse is an elegiac piece of extremely delicate sound, in fact, perhaps the most delicate piece to be found in orchestral literature, more so, even, than Berlioz's "Queen Mab" scherzo, or "Will o' the Wisp" menuet, although not resembling these pieces in the least otherwise. The melody is plaintive, sorrowful, frequently interrupted as if by sobbing and moaning, here and there swelled by a sudden, but quickly subdued outburst of grief. These cries of woe wander from one instrument to another; towards the close the piece exhales its breath, so to say, as if dying. From beginning to end the rocking rhythm of the accompaniment figures is maintained, calm in its monotonous motion. "Cradle-song of the man at the coffin of his mother" is the subtitle of this extraordinary composition; it will serve to throw a light on the emotional "Stimmung" poured forth from these tones.

Different from the dusky, twilight colours of this piece are the still darker shades of night which seem to envelop the tones of the "Nocturne symphonique." The polyphonic texture of the nocturne is still denser. The breath of southern skies pervades both pieces. The Berceuse is more in the manner of a monologue, the Nocturne more like a dialogue. Sad, low, trembling in painful emotion, is the speech of both. Just as the eye needs special adaptation in order to perceive gradually the contours of objects in the darkness, so the ear must get accustomed to the dense network of tone-threads which is spun around these melodic fragments, to the peculiar manner in which the tone-colours flow into each other.

To the same group of compositions of Busoni's latest phase belongs the *Indian Fantasy* for piano and orchestra. It is, however, of a much more popular stamp, despite its complexity. A brilliant piano-piece on genuine Indian motives, distinguished by a plastic clearness hard as steel. Three parts passing one into the other form the entire composition: A fantasy, a canzone (of a quite enchanting beauty), and a finale on three Indian motives and an original melody. The endless sweep of the North American prairies is placed before the imagination in this picturesque composition: the father of rivers, the mighty Mississippi; the melancholy of the vast plains; against the distant horizon the silhouettes of the redskins; we hear the trampling of horses on-rushing in furious galop, the war whoops; we see the glitter of menacing tomahawks; we almost smell the fresh breeze of the prairie, the cool morning air.

One of Busoni's most important and characteristic works is his opera *Die Brautwahl*. Its first performance took place at the Hamburg opera, April 13, 1912. Afterwards it was given in Mannheim, but in spite of these performances it is as yet almost unknown and did not meet with the success it deserves. This "musical-fantastic comedy" is still awaiting a sympathetic performance; only then can an adequate judgment be pronounced. All criticisms of the Hamburg *première* agreed in the opinion that a wealth of music was lavished on a subject which did not repay the labour spent on it. Busoni has his own ideas, however, about the nature of a dramatic text and its musical treatment, which differ from the commonly accepted opinions on this subject. In his thoughtful *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music* (English edition, G. Schirmer, 1911) he makes some interesting allusions to this topic (pp. 13-15). At all events, it is certain that the text (by Busoni himself) also shows the hand of an unusual artist, a soulful and thoughtful poet. Perhaps its theatrical verve is not strong enough for the taste of the average theatre-goer, but its artistic qualities are beyond all doubt. What attracted Busoni in the story of E. T. A. Hoffmann, the great Berlin romantic novelist of a century ago, is the atmosphere of a supernatural, fantastic element in its mixture with reality. The scene is laid in the Berlin of 1820, with its atmosphere of well-ordered rationalism; a bright, daylight scene with which the demoniac, mysterious, nocturnal visions of the characters engaged contrast strangely. Here Busoni has found an occasion to give vent to his strong sense for fantastic humour, grotesque, bizarre imagination. And in all these respects the *Brautwahl* score is a masterpiece of the

first rank. In fact one of the most admirable orchestral scores in the exuberant wealth of original ideas, sounds of picturesque novelty, imagery of the most brilliant kind, powerful and enchanting in its mystic depth and the purity of its emotional strength.

The *orchestral suite* of 5 pieces, published separately, will give a good idea of the *Brautwahl* music when transferred to the concert-room. No. 1, "Spukhaftes Stück," is the musical description of a magic trick played by the goldsmith Leonard. He bewitches the entire company, so that they begin a galop, dancing more and more wildly till they are completely exhausted. No. 2, "Lyrisches Stück," is a composition of Fouqué's poem "Ein Flüstern, Rauschen, Klingen geht durch den Frühlingshain"—a most delicate melody, characteristic of Busoni's austere tenderness; in the opera it is sung by the heroine at her spinet. No. 3, "Mystisches Stück," comprises the mystic, solemn actions of the opera. It includes the apparition of the unknown bride to the bridegroom at midnight of a certain autumn day, a piece of music which is also included in the "Elegies" for piano. No. 4, "Hebräisches Stück," gives the portrait of Manasse, the mysterious old Jew who plays such a conspicuous part in Hoffmann's novel. The orthodox and demoniac traits of this fantastic character are expressed in the music, in which a complicated, meditative, sombre fantasy on Hebrew synagogue-melodies is particularly conspicuous, with its strange murmurings, groans, and wild, weird outcries. No. 5, "Heiteres Stück," is brimful of life and motion, descriptive of the first scene of the opera (which is laid in the Berlin park, the "Thiergarten"); the band playing jolly tunes, while the crowd of Berlin people is listening, drinking coffee and eating cake. To this is attached the brilliant "Feueraukelspiel" which ends the first act, descriptive of magic tricks.

Another piece of the *Brautwahl* music, not contained in the suite, but nevertheless suitable for the concert-hall, is the prelude to the third act, to which may be joined the first scene: a sombre night by the frog-pond in the Berlin Thiergarten; the desolate lover, about to end his life by jumping into the pond, is rescued at the last moment. There is a mixture of impressive landscape-painting and plaintive humour in the tragi-comical situation. The post-horn, sounding from far off, opens the symphonic prelude in a romantic manner. Voices of the night accompany this post-horn melody;—the sighing of the wind, the murmurings of the foliage, strange sounds of the rippling water

and of animals, the croaking of frogs. A symphony in green, as one critic has fitly characterized this piece of music.

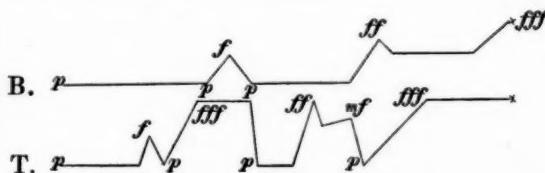
A study of the composer Busoni would be incomplete without taking into consideration his *Transcriptions*, which only a creative mind could have brought to such a perfection.

The number and importance of these transcriptions is so considerable that they form a class by themselves in his lifework, and deserve a detailed appreciation. The art of transcription in a modern sense was a creation of Liszt, who, with admirable skill, adapted to the piano in a most effective and brilliant manner pieces originally written for the orchestra, whole scenes from operas, songs, and pieces for organ and violin. Busoni follows the tendency of Liszt, which may be shortly expressed thus: A really artistic transcription for piano differs considerably from what is generally called a "Klavierauszug," a piano score, inasmuch as it is not satisfied to arrange the music in a playable manner for the piano, but tries to translate the composition into the idiom of the piano. Thus a good transcription ought to sound as if it were written from the start for the piano; like a good translation which should read as if it were written originally in the language into which it is translated. The transcriptions of Busoni differ from those of Liszt in that they are more systematic, more precise, more penetrating. In the main, Busoni's transcriptions are limited to organ compositions by J. S. Bach. His aim has been to translate the organ-works into the language of the pianoforte, while seeking to enrich the idiom of the piano by new turns and expressions derived from the organ. His transcriptions are, in fact, as pianistic as may be desired; moreover, they reproduce in new effects of sound the peculiar organ-style with its sudden changes from one colour to another, from *piano* to *forte*, its powerful, massive chords. Busoni makes a principle of avoiding almost entirely chords struck in the arpeggio manner, as being alien to the organ character and depriving the chords of their organ-like solidity and massive power. It is interesting to see how, by this means alone, his transcriptions get a more organ-like sound than those by Liszt, Tausig and others. By careful doubling of chord-notes, choice of proper octaves, distributing the music to both hands in a practical way, and a refined use of the pedal, he obtains surprising effects. A comparative study of Busoni's and Tausig's transcriptions of Bach's D minor Toccata and Fugue will show the differences clearly. Busoni's manner of transcription is much more subtle, more differentiated, and at the same time more powerful and organ-

like in character. The following two bars are instructive regarding the ingeniousness of Busoni's manner. He avoids Tausig's arpeggio, and gets the organ-like difference of sound between the different parts by a careful gradation of strength in the successive chords, *f*, *fz*, *mf*, *p*—and a wonderful pedal treatment:

The image shows a musical score comparison between two interpretations of a piece. The top section, labeled 'Tausig:', shows a piano part with a single arpeggiated chord over a sustained bass note. The bottom section, labeled 'Busoni:', shows a more complex piano part with multiple voices and a sustained bass note. The Busoni interpretation includes dynamic markings: *f*, *fz*, *mf*, and *p*. Below the piano parts, a bassoon part is shown with a dynamic marking of *meno forte*.

His interpretation likewise, the building of the climaxes, is more monumental, in simple lines, more thoughtful and much more effective than Tausig's. The line of intensity in Busoni's interpretation is much more convincing than Tausig's somewhat arbitrary rise and fall, running thus:



These few indications must suffice to make clear the exceptional qualities of Busoni's transcriptions. The following is the list of his Bach transcriptions, most of them published by Breitkopf & Härtel:

- Bach, 6 Tonstücke: Organ Prelude and Fugue D major.*  
*4 Choral preludes: 1. Wachet auf! ruft uns die Stimme;*  
*2. In dir ist Freude; 3. Ich ruf zu dir; 4. Nun freut euch, liebe Christen.*  
*Chaconne for Violin.*

2 Organ Toccatas, C major and D minor.  
Preludes and Fugues, E $\flat$  and E minor.  
Orgelchoralvorspiele auf das Pianoforte im Kammer-  
stil übertragen.

In close connection with the transcriptions, his editions of Bach's piano-works are to be considered. They are not many, but are among the most valuable and useful of their kind. *Bach's two- and three-part Inventions*, long recognized as a cornerstone of pianistic technique, have been edited most carefully by Busoni (two volumes, published by Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipsic). Fingering, phrasing, expression-marks, analytical remarks, make this edition of this classical work the one which is most exhaustive as regards usefulness. In fact, the pedagogical importance and the musical design of these Inventions will be more thoroughly revealed in this edition than in any other.

The Inventions serve as an introduction to the vast structure of the *Well-tempered Clavichord*. To the many editions of this invaluable collection of preludes and fugues Busoni has added one which, in many ways, is superior to all. The first part was published many years ago (Schirmer, and the Universal Edition, Vienna); Breitkopf & Härtel are at present publishing the second part. Busoni's aim is not archeological or historical. Though preserving the utmost fidelity to the original text, his edition is made in view of the modern piano, not of the clavecin as Bach played it. As the renaissance of the clavecin progresses in our days, it will no doubt be very valuable to possess an authentic edition of the work in its original intention. Since the modern piano, however, will nevertheless maintain its predominance, it is necessary to adapt Bach's work to the modern instrument, so that its wealth of ideas may be expressed by its means to the best advantage, according to the style of Bach. This problem of translating clavecin-music for the modern piano has been solved by Busoni with an admirable mastery. The old instrument and the new differ so considerably from each other that it is not possible, in most cases, to play the same piece in the same manner on both. Analytical notes, remarks on the proper Bach style, practical fingering, careful marks of expression, adaptations of single pieces as instructive études for the development of modern technique, all this taken together makes this edition unique of its kind.

An edition of the *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue* (Universal Edition, Vienna) is of like value. Bach's *Capriccio on the departure*

of the beloved brother, four Duets for piano, *Fantasy, Adagio and Fugue* arranged for concert performance, have appeared at Breitkopf & Härtel's.

To these have to be added Busoni's versions of Liszt's compositions: *Spanish Rhapsody with orchestra, Fantasy and Fugue* "Ad nos ad salutarem undam," *Mephisto Waltz, Heroic March, Polonaise* in E major with final cadenza and the *Figaro Fantasy*.

Most instructive and valuable for pianists of advanced technical abilities is Busoni's edition of the Paganini-Liszt Theme and Variations, Étude No. 6, "a study in transcription" (Breitkopf & Härtel). It contains the original text by Paganini, the two different versions by Liszt, and Busoni's own version, written in the manner of an orchestral score, so that measure by measure a comparison of these four different versions is possible.

All these transcriptions and editions, these arrangements of Bach's and Liszt's compositions, are intended to be "contributions to the school of advanced pianoforte playing." In one of his prefaces Busoni writes about them thus: "In their entirety they are similar to an educational building which—preferably with Bach music as its basis—seems capable of eventually bearing further and younger superstructures, like unto a sturdy old oak-tree, which, although ever growing older itself, still continues to put forth the greenest and freshest of shoots."

\* \* \*

Surveying, as above, the entire work of Busoni up to his fiftieth year, his development becomes clear. His main characteristics from the start are an Italian sense of clearness, of vivid rhythmical energy, form and proportion, combined with the German sense of architecture, of composition in the proper sense of the word, of endless striving after an ideal of perfection. The source of his creative ability is vivid, passionate southern temperament, an instinct of making music like a fanciful play, and combined with this a gift of profound meditation, an intelligence of the highest stamp, a tendency toward intricate speculation.

In a simple formula: Gay dance-rhythm and learned polyphony, light, graceful motion and weighty thought; Brahms, Liszt, Wagner, the last Beethoven, Bach—these are the masters whose influence is most marked in his earlier works. But his whole love and unbounded admiration from the start up to the present day has always belonged to Mozart. The clearness of

form, the economical use of means, the power of presenting complicated things in the simplest possible manner, traits which strongly characterize Busoni's art, are derived mainly from Mozart. Wagner has influenced him only during a limited period of his youth, less than all the other noted musicians of equal age. His artistic creed has later on rather put him into opposition towards Wagner, felt instinctively at first, expressed logically afterwards. From about 1890 the progressive tendencies become more and more manifest. Slowly Busoni turns towards a new horizon, yet never losing the ground under his feet, always remaining firmly rooted in the past. This circumstance gives a legitimate, natural aspect to his most daring innovations; they are a necessary growth, not whimsical, sensational, or forced.

The sense for new combinations of simultaneous tones, for delicate shadings of tone, is a peculiarity of our nervous age and its most salient characteristic. To this modern development of harmony Busoni has made some very important contributions. Step by step his innovations can be traced. The compositions up to about 1895 hardly go beyond the practice of modern chromatic harmony as we find it in Liszt's and Wagner's works. But from about 1900 new elements of harmony make their appearance in his music. He first exercises his ingenuity to find new effects within the system of chords generally accepted. Some of his processes are the following: Major and minor triad simultaneously, progressions of parallel fifths and fourths, different chords sounding together, different keys at the same time, chords formed by a conglomeration of seconds and fourths, new scales, new forms of cadence and modulation, a more liberal aspect of tonality, disregard for the commonly accepted idea of tonality, a striving aimed at evolving third-tones and quarter-tones. Some examples chosen from his different works may illustrate his use of the harmonic means. In "All' Italia" (in the "Elegies") we find major and minor triads, sustained by the pedal, sounding at the same time. It is strange that composers should not have thought of this effect before, since it is given in the germ by

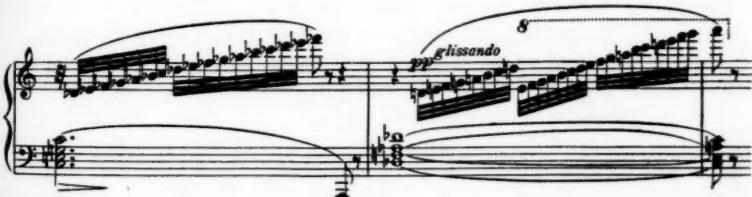


nature in every minor chord. In the chord of *b* flat minor, for example, while *d* flat is heard distinctly, we hear *d* ♭ faintly at the same time, it being the fourth overtone of the fundamental note *bb*.

How he manages to produce unusual, striking effects within the commonly accepted tonality may be illustrated by a few quotations from the "Fantasia contrappuntistica."



Different keys at the same time with picturesque effect at the close of the "nocturnal apparition" (No. 6 of the Elegies); C major and *D* flat, D-minor scale accompanied by *D* ♭-major chord:



The colour-difference of the single "valeurs" in these passages must of course be observed closely, in order to produce the right effect. The strange passage from the "Berceuse" comes under

the same head, *C* minor and *A* major, *E* major and *G* minor, together:



The following measures taken from the close of the first sonatina show the strange effect of different keys sounding into each other, and of parallel fifths:

*Molto sostenuto*  
*poco espr.*

d.  
*espr.*

Finally, the following quotation from the second sonatina shows the entire emancipation from our current system of harmony. Tonality is abolished; triads occur, but without regard to a certain key; chords composed of fourths and sevenths are used. If properly played, the passage has a most peculiar effect, shadowy, dusky, of indefinite colour, suggesting mystic twilight:

*ppp*  
*dolente e cantando*  
*ppp*



With the Finnish composers, especially Sibelius, the modern French school around Debussy, and Delius, Scriabine, Schönberg, Busoni has some traits in common. Though a superficial observer might perhaps consider him a follower of these musicians, still the differences between his way of writing and theirs are greater than the similarities. The most striking resemblance between Debussy and Busoni is their predilection for exotic scales. The possibilities of our major and minor scale in a melodic and harmonic way are apparently exhausted. Hence the desire of progressive minds to procure new material for music. The mediæval church scales have been utilized more or less by modern composers, Beethoven, Brahms, Chopin, César Franck, the modern Russians and Frenchmen. As the music of the Oriental nations became more familiar in Europe, it exercised a certain influence. The Pentatonic scale of the Chinese, the ancient Scotch and the North American Indians, the whole-tone scale of the Siamese, found its way into French music, partly by the way of Russia. By experiment, Busoni has found out that there are more than a hundred scales possible, many of which have doubtless never yet been used in composition. Though Busoni and the modern French and Russian writers occasionally meet on common ground in the use of such scales, still, his manner of employing them, his thematic invention, his spiritual capacities and temperament are considerably, in fact fundamentally, different from theirs. Busoni is more austere, more masculine, more exalted and of greater energy, less enchanting, less soft and flexible than Debussy. From Schönberg and Scriabine, the two most radical modern musicians—apart from the futurists in Italy, who so far have not been accepted seriously—Busoni differs by his more organic and sounder art, by the stronger, more legitimate, broader basis, musically as well as spiritually and intellectually. He continues in a straight line the series of the older masters, whereas most

of the radical modernists run the risk of losing their way in a side-path which leads into a wilderness. In solid musicianship, musical erudition and polyphonic art, he surpasses all the other modernists, in fact, he deserves in all these respects the title of "master" in the sense in which it is commonly applied. Among these masters there has always existed, as the history of art shows, a marked difference as regards their attitude towards expression and means of expression. All real masters have always had to express something personal, unique, new. Many of them have found it possible to express their individual feelings within the range of the technical means in use at their time, or without considerable departure from this technical basis. Others have sought their ideal by trying to develop new means of expression, new harmonies, rhythms, forms, sounds. And among these again there are some who come to their discoveries in a naïve way, by inspiration, others by a systematic, scientific investigation, by labour of the intellect. Busoni seems to belong to the last class, most emphatically. He meditates profoundly on the possibilities of a change, an advance in form, colour, harmony, rhythm. Like a great inventor he experiments in all these directions, not at haphazard, but with superior intelligence—in this way far superior to revolutionary anarchists like Schönberg and Scriabine—with a certain end in view. With passionate energy he works at his problems. Occasionally, it may seem as if this intellectual labour overbalanced the emotional essence, the soul, as if the means of expression were ahead of the inspiration. But always, so far, he has succeeded in mastering his own progressive ideas, so that his inspiration regains its due prominence; his invention, his ideas, become such that they need just those novel ways of expression. Thus the balance is restored, the basis is found which might be sufficient for a whole series of years. But his restless mind is not content with the result thus gained; he does not care to rest on his laurels; in his next work he is urged forward to try something new. Again he begins experimenting, his fertile mind finds new technical devices, and before long his creative imagination is enflamed, he breathes naturally in the new atmosphere.

His art has often been criticized by superficial observers as being too intellectual, too cool, somewhat soulless. This criticism I consider altogether unjust. He is "problematic," no doubt, because he is in advance of the standard of the day. But his music ceases to be problematic as soon as his listeners have become familiar with his way of expression. He has written

some eloquent words on feeling and emotion in his "Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music," and I quote a few of these sentences at the end of this essay, because they throw light on his ideas of art:—"In art feeling is held to be the highest moral qualification. In music, however, feeling requires two consorts, taste and style. Now, in life, one encounters real taste as seldom as deep and true feeling; as for style, it is a province of art. 'Feeling' is generally understood to mean tenderness, pathos, and extravagance of expression. But how much more does the marvellous flower 'Emotion' unfold! Restraint and forbearance, renunciation, power, activity, patience, magnanimity, joyousness, and that all-controlling intelligence wherein feeling actually takes its rise. What the amateur and the mediocre artist attempt to express, is feeling in little, in detail, for a short stretch. Feeling on a grand scale is mistaken by the amateur, the semi-artist, the public (and the critics, too, unhappily) for a want of emotion, because they all are unable to hear the longer reaches as parts of a yet more extended whole. Feeling, therefore, is likewise economy. Hence, I distinguish feeling as Taste, as Style, as Economy. Each a whole in itself, and each one-third of the whole. Within and over them rules a subjective trinity: Temperament, Intelligence and the instinct of Equipoise. These six carry on a dance of such subtlety in the choice of partners and intertwining of figures, in the bearing and the being borne, in advancing and curtseying, in motion and repose, that no loftier height of artistry is conceivable."

## SOME GUESSES ABOUT YANKEE DOODLE

By FRANK KIDSON

**T**O the musical antiquary there lies in the tune *Yankee Doodle* the same mystery and fascination that lurks in the smile of the Mona Lisa of the Louvre. Small wonder then that for generations so many writers have spilled ink and made wild guesses in the hope of finding out the truth regarding its origin, a task as futile assuredly as solving the problem who wrote *God Save the King*. To the Library of Congress, some years ago, was officially assigned the labour of picking up the ends of all the tangled skeins that have got twisted round the subject, to unknot these and lay bare the innermost heart of the question. In the "Report on The Star Spangled Banner, Hail Columbia, America, and Yankee Doodle" issued from the Library of Congress in 1909, much was done to knock on the head wild statements and absurd theories that had been made and broached since the history of the tune had become a matter of interest. Like the rest of us, the author left the origin of the tune still a mystery though he succeeded in clearing away a great deal of the rubbish which encumbered and blocked the search. It is not my intention to recapitulate any of the Report's arguments or discoveries, or to encroach on any of its ground. The book is so inexpensive and so full of interest for any student of national song that it is imperative that it should be obtained and placed in the library of every musician; it is a monument of patient and learned research. My own task is to add a few guesses and to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the value of the propositions I put forth.

The mystery of the tune carries with it the mystery of the words "Yankee" and "Doodle." Wild flings into philology have been made into languages which range in currency from the territory of the Cherokee Indians to the Persian Gulf. Still, each derivation leaves us cold and doubtful. We have been told numerous stories to account for its existence as an American national air, none of which we really have faith in, but which we idly accept as the easiest and least troublesome way of accounting for the circumstance.

You will find them all in the Report of 1909, and I feel sure will mentally shed the tributary tear of pity for the author who has had to painfully accept them temporally until he has with pain and travail knocked them on the head until they were apparently dead; for many of these wild statements will rise again and form themes for future historians to quarrel over. The present article will possibly add to the labours of these musical antiquaries and may even rouse some of the present day ones to a contention of the theories I now broach.

*Yankee Doodle* is among the queer tunes. It has never settled its own time-rhythm. We can take it in 6-8, in 2-4, and in common time with equal authority, for it is to be found printed with each of these time signatures, and to the ordinary person one is as good as another. It has also considerable variation in note and few if any old copies are identical with each other. I think I may claim to have been the first to put on record the fact that the earliest printed copy of the tune, under the title *Yanky Doodle*, appears in the first volume of Aird's "Selection of Scotch, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs, for the fife, violin or German Flute." In my "Old English Country Dances," 1890, I reproduced the tune from Aird and fixed the date of his publication as "about 1775 or 1776." Afterwards I accepted the late Mr. John Glen's date "1782," but on going very carefully into the matter I find full evidence that I was correct in my original estimate of date.

Aird's "Selection" is one of those rare little collections which are the joy of collectors. It is in six small oblong volumes, each measuring only six and a half inches, by four and a quarter. Originally commenced as a single volume by James Aird, an obscure Glasgow music seller, it sold so well that a second volume was published in 1782, a third in 1788, a fourth in 1794, a fifth in 1797 and a sixth, early in the 19th century. Aird having died in 1794 the three last books were issued by his successor, and the whole series reissued by this successor, and again by George Goulding, a London publisher.

Aird's little book is composed of tunes suitable for the drum and fife band of a regiment, and includes many regimental marches. The Military drum which is the chief feature of the engraved title page is inscribed "Royal Glasgow Volunteers," and upon that body and similar companies Aird probably depended for a sale.

It is a matter for speculation from what source Aird got his *Yanky Doodle*. It is evident that he had an American

correspondent, for he includes a sprinkling of tunes from across the Atlantic such as several "Virginian" airs, a "Negro Jig" and so forth. *Yanky Doodle*, as given by Aird, has a number of variations.

The fact remains that up to the present no earlier copy of *Yankee Doodle* has been found in print prior to Aird's publication which, as I have already stated, there is evidence to show was published about 1775 or 1776; certainly before 1778. Nor can we be certain that any manuscript copy exists of even a few years earlier. I have before said that every old copy of the tune varies considerably and that is a strong proof that it has existed for a period entirely by tradition, and passed from lip to lip, or from instrument to instrument. It has been noted down in manuscript books of airs to be played on the violin, or more frequently the German flute, the instrument which every young gentleman of culture in England and America tootled on from the middle of the 18th century to our grandfather's time. That *Yankee Doodle* was chiefly played on the flute or fife in its early days is, I think, very likely; it certainly lends itself to these two instruments.

I have not, myself, come across any early copy arranged for the harpsichord or pianoforte save three. The first occurs in the published score of Dr. Arnold's opera "Two to One," produced in 1784, the second in Charles Dibdin's "Musical Tour", printed at Sheffield in 1788, and the third is reproduced in Mr. Sonneck's Report from a music sheet published by Thomas Skillern of London sometime after 1777. In all three instances the songs are adapted to the tune and are not the original words (if any such existed) to the air.

Arnold's song *Adzoooks old Crusty why so rusty*, forms part of his opera. Dibdin's song *The Return of Ulysses to Ithaca* is a burlesque version of that hero's adventures, and the third is entitled *Yankee Doodle or, as now christened by the Saints of New England, The Lexington March*. This is a scurrilous song in ridicule of the Americans. The words "now christened The Lexington March" sufficiently show that the tune was in existence before the words, also that it was re-named after the battle of Lexington. Anyhow I am anxious to show that the tune was a tune pure and simple, and while many sets of nonsense verses have been put to the air they were not united with it until it had become a popular one, as a tune solely.

Many musical people in those days were content to play simple airs on flute, or violin, without other accompaniment. The tune and the performer stood on their own merits and were not bolstered up by harmony or the backing of a second performer.

The man in his solitude unscrewed his flute and tootled into it to his own satisfaction, if not to that of his neighbours.

I assert, (I feel sure, correctly,) that *Yankee Doodle* has been evolved on the flute or fife, most likely the latter, by an amateur musician. I should fix the nationality of this person, unknown to fame, as American. My reason for these conclusions will appear later on. I do not see any great antiquity in the melody; I should very much doubt whether it went so far back as 1740, inclining to a date ten or twenty years later.

Another point in my argument is the fact that while fragments of nonsense verse have been adapted to the tune these have had no stability and have varied as fancy or political situations have dictated. It is, I think, quite obvious that the air has not been composed for words, but has been evolved as a sprightly dance melody. Its connection with the dance is indicated by one of the early choruses used to the tune:—

Yankey Doodle keep it up,  
Yankey doodle dandy;  
Mind the music and the step,  
And with the girls be handy.

We may now consider the question of the name "Yankee Doodle," for the title has never been satisfactorily explained. Much diving into records has elicited the fact that the earliest known use of the word "Yankee" goes back to 1725 at which date a negro man named "Yankee" is to be sold. (*See Notes and Queries* vol. 10, 1878). Further we find that the word "Yankey" is a nickname in use in America a little later than that time, and we know that in due course natives of the eastern states of America became nominated, vulgarly, "Yankees."

It is a futile task to attempt to trace the derivation of "Yankee" but I wish to point out that the words "Yanko" and "Yarico" have been used by English writers as typical proper names for Indians on the further side of the Atlantic, just in the same way that they might use "Mustapha" for a Turk, or "Paddy" for an Irishman. For example in the 11th number of "The Spectator" dated March 13, 1710-11 there is the tale of Inkle and Yarico told—or retold. Thomas Inkle is wrecked on the mainland of America and befriended by Yarico an Indian girl. On getting to the West Indies by an English ship he basely sells her into slavery.

Charles Dibdin in writing his opera "The Islanders," produced November 1780,—a work evidently inspired by Captain

Cook's voyages among the South Sea Islands—named the principal male savage "Yanko." We have seen that the negro man of 1725 bore the name "Yankee" and that the same name was a nickname indicating an American a few years later, therefore I venture to conclude that "Yanko" or "Yankee" has been used in friendly raillery for the Americans, indicating them as Indians, just as we might speak of the Irish as "Paddies," the Scotch as "Sandies," and so forth. If any one chooses to push the search further I would suggest that they note how often the name "Yanko" is used as a proper name in early stories dealing with American or savage life.

The word "Doodle" is equally obscure. As explanation, I think it will be found within everybody's experience that nurses in singing to children, also other people, vocalise a melody, where the proper words are not used, or are not known, by singing the air to such words as "Doodle, doodle" with a final "doodle, doodle do."

In fact in more than one country district in England this way of singing a tune is called "deedling," or "doodling."

Dr. Wright's Dialect Dictionary gives a quotation which confirms this. A correspondent writes him:

A friend, a fiddler told me he had learnt a certain tune by an old man "doodling it" by singing or humming it bit by bit until he learnt the whole.

Also, it must be noted that the 18th century flute tutors, and later ones, instruct the learner in "double tongueing" to pronounce the word "tootle" as he blows into the flute. The words "doodle" and "tootle" are sufficiently alike to believe that the one may be used for the other indifferently.

Accepting the above as reasonable propositions it is conceivable that the title *Yankee Doodle* may have come from "The Yankee Tootle," or "The Yankee Doodle," meaning the American air that has no words, and perhaps not a known title, which is "tootled" on the flute or "doodled" by the voice.

In making this suggestion I emphasise the fact that no words appear to have been coexistent with the birth of the tune, and that it is eminently a flute or a fife tune.

I put forth all these suggestions with humility but I think they are at least as reasonable as most others that have been made in regard to the intricate problem.

I append Aird's original version and several early copies from manuscript books of airs in my own possession. Also a

Yankee Doodle

From a manuscript book of airs  
written about 1820-5  
belonging to F. Kidson



Yankee Doodle

From a manuscript book of airs  
circa 1825  
belonging to F. Kidson



Yankee Doodle

From a flute tutor, title missing  
circa 1825



London now is out of Town

From "Minstrel Lays"  
circa 1820



Yanky Doodle

From Aird's "Selection" Vol. I  
circa 1775-6



Yankie Doodle

From a manuscript book of airs in possession of Frank Kidson. On the first cover is written "George (?) Catt 1790." On end cover is written "John Carter given me by Stephen Catt when going away May 19th 1792." There are about seventy airs, all written in one hand, evidently that of George Catt. Oblong 8vo



The Lexington March

From manuscript book of airs  
circa 1798-1800  
belonging to F. Kidson



curious use of the tune of a song by Theodore Hook, *London now is out of Town* published in a work called "Minstrel Lays," a collection of popular airs for the flute published by James Power of London about 1820. The name "Ware" is attached to the tune: evidently William Henry Ware, a musician attached to Covent Garden and producer of pantomimes, etc., He probably arranged and harmonised Hook's song for theatrical or concert performance.

I have estimated the dates of my manuscript books as closely and as carefully as possible.

## IMAGINATION AND FACT IN VOICE CULTURE

By FREDERIC W. ROOT<sup>1</sup>

Reference is often made to confusion and inadequacy of vocal method and the lack of agreement among its professors. There have, however, been fashions in voice teaching which have brought temporary approaches to unanimity, at least in appearance.

There was the florid method, in which the practice of scales and passages was the main dependence of all teachers. There was a rapidly fluctuating scientific period. For a time breathing was everything and the phrase "Chi sa respirare sa cantare" had its vogue.

Then came the treatment of vocal registers following upon Garcia's invention of the laryngoscope. Then the teaching of Helmholtz and other scientists swept the field and teachers sought the new knowledge and used its phraseology at least enough to make them feel up-to-date.

Again, anatomy and physiology were pushed to the front, mostly by the medical profession, with a great show of authority exerting a wide influence upon voice teaching.

Each of these fashions has been accompanied by much experimental teaching and theoretical discourse in the music journals, teachers' associations and the studios.

Meanwhile the human voice has remained as ever the same elusive, baffling, capricious, chameleon-like endowment, now appearing to justify the theorist in his "discoveries," and now leading him a wild goose chase; at one moment seeming to be a simple and natural gift and at another the most complex of problems.

So nothing beyond a few obvious elementary considerations has become established.

All fashions and discoveries have been in turn discredited. Investigation, however, has continued to press forward. Pressing forward at the present writing consists in looking backward at that shadowy object of veneration the "old Italian Method."

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Root's illness prevented him from reading proof of his article. He died on November 8.—*Ed.*

It is interesting to note the extent to which antiquity can lend glamour to even commonplace things. A ruin, if it is only a pile of rubbish, is romantic if it is old enough. A useless book may be a treasure on account of its age. Old cracked paintings and dim frescoes appear as caricatures to one who does not behold them through the mists of a remote past.

The Italian singers of the first half of the 18th century studied their art leisurely and gave plenty of time to the development of their voices; their language predisposed their throats to musical utterance; their temperament was warm and expressive; their climate was genial; public taste inclined to euphony and sensuous beauty; singers had not the temptation to force their voices, the instrumental accompaniments being light and the method being florid song rather than declamatory utterance; more than all, every professional singer was prepared as a cultivated musician, one who could improvise and compose as well as vocalize—to use his mind as well as his body.

With all these advantages it would be a wonder if some expert singers had not been developed. But there were apparently very few such in comparison to all who undertook the study; and it is doubtful if these eminent ones excelled or even equalled the best we have to-day. But they have the glamour of antiquity, and their fame is enhanced by certain legends which continue to pass current. That epoch has figured for a century as the golden age of song, and those singers as exemplars of a wonderful art which has been lost to the world.

The fashion of to-day is the attempt to assign definite outlines to this "old Italian method" and to advocate its re-establishment for vocal education.

The most authoritative utterance upon this subject which has appeared—authoritative because of the literary skill with which it is presented and because of the high standing of the journal which gives it currency—discredits all mechanical discoveries and devices as they are at present applied to voice culture and advocates the instinctive, direct, "natural" treatment which is supposed to be the sole reliance of the early Italians.

Here is the argument which the writer above referred to<sup>1</sup> and many others are putting forth to-day with the air of giving the solution of a difficult problem:

Voice is a natural function and to interfere with Nature in the cultivation of it leads to disaster. The vocal organs act

<sup>1</sup>Voice Culture: Past and Present, by David C. Taylor. THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY, July, 1915.

spontaneously in response to thought and feeling; hence to attempt to guide their actions mechanically is an error. Tones of voice vary according to the vocalists' imagination without consciousness of mechanical processes; therefore the ear is the only proper means of guiding tone.

Hence cultivation of the voice should be accomplished with no reference to the vocal organs which originate and control tone, but only to the tone itself, forming this upon an ideal of quality and relying upon instinct and unconscious effort for the physical action required.

This must be an attractive proposition especially to a teacher who has difficult cases to deal with. He need no longer study to invent means to overcome vocal defects, nor worry over results. His course is to demand beautiful tones from his pupil, giving him models with his own voice, and then watch beneficent Nature dispose of defects, obliterate wrong habits and develop a fine even scale.

This plan seems to contemplate the exceptional rather than the average pupil, and the unusual rather than the common conditions under which the training is conducted. It would work well, certainly much better than imperfect physical analysis, with a gifted pupil whose antecedents were such as to endow him with fine, aesthetic perception, one who had established no bad habits, and if, furthermore, the teacher were one whose tones the pupil might profitably imitate, and the pupil were much with the teacher.

But the large majority of those who study singing have imperfect ideals of tone, some obstinate habits, and are taught by those whose voices are different from their own—as when a man teaches a woman, or a woman a man.

Shall we say that only the gifted ones may be taught singing? Shall we conclude that only one whose voice is the proper pattern for a pupil may give instruction to that pupil? Shall we assume that where a pupil has a falsely produced tone we may never point out the physical condition which vitiates the tone?

Let us contemplate a few actual cases:

Misses A, B and C had voices far above the average—in other words, they all produced what were generally regarded as beautiful tones and they had no thought of the physical process. They heard much good singing in concert and opera; they studied for musicianship with piano, etc., and were closely pursuing the "old Italian method" as defined by its prophets. Yet the progress of these young ladies was at a standstill because of defects which hampered and discouraged them.

Miss A could take her upper tones only by forcing them; any attempt at diminished power was attended by a grating sound or a sudden stoppage.

Miss B, as she added power to her tones in the swell, experienced a nervous tension like that which one feels in trying to lift something of which he has an imperfect hold, and her voice then took on something of a hard and hollow sound.

Miss C, with a voice which was entitled to high C, could not by any form of exertion force it above F.

Now each of these typical cases might possibly have been set right by strict adherence to the natural or idealistic method which forbids attention to mechanism. But it is extremely doubtful if it could have been thus accomplished within the limits and under the conditions of an ordinary course of lessons.

As it was, Miss A was easily taught to lower her tongue for her high notes—she had unconsciously acquired the habit of making the back of the tongue rise as the voice ascended through the compass.

Miss B learned without delay to raise the soft palate properly—the natural co-ordination of tongue and palate had become lost.

Miss C was made to control the position of her larynx which, because of forced registers in childhood, was prone to follow in singing the course which it takes in the act of swallowing—to close entirely.

The sincere devotees of the "old Italian method," especially those who have witnessed disaster in "scientific" procedure, will immediately call to mind all sorts of contortions and vocal monstrosities in connection with the effort to regulate consciously, a singer's tongue, palate or larynx. True, all these grotesqueries are possible, and, as competent handling of this method is rare, they are even probable.

But the ideal of beautiful tone is not the exclusive possession of the old school. One who regulates the position and action of the chest, lips, jaw, tongue, etc. in teaching may have the same and may seem to himself to give the pupil aid toward grasping this ideal by showing him the result of tone formed by a different adjustment of the physical organism from that which had become habitual and had seemed "natural."

"In his daily practicing the student strove" (says our advocate of the old Italian method) "through repeated singing of the same passages, to bring his voice into conformity with his mental conception."

He would probably add that the proper effect of this practice should be expected only after the ear had been trained and the mental conception developed; but how this mental preparation is to be effected he does not say. His arguments repudiate the idea that the development of a true ideal of tone may be based upon a previous regulation of the physical action of tone production.

The majority of successful voice teachers are not willing to allow such manifestations of untrained mentality as heavings of the chest and contortions of the tongue in vocalization to await an indefinite method of correction. They are accustomed to regulate these things at once and then begin their quest for the ideal.

No one will deny that the mind is the determining factor in singing as in every other field of human activity. It is obvious, too, that the mind operates on different planes, dominating the material as well as the spiritual activities. To what extent mind's reactions are from spirit to matter, or from matter to spirit, in any given case is a subject for debate. We wish *mens sana in corpore sano*, but in a specific case we must decide whether the body or the mind shall receive first attention in order that both may be rightly cared for.

The "old Italian" plan of operation as recommended to us decides that mental concepts of tone subsequently ratified by sensation should be the sole reliance, vague and uncertain as is the mentality in most cases.

Teaching according to this plan appeals to a native taste and refinement of nature, which the pupil may not have, and depends upon that to guide the action of the vocal organs. If this does not produce satisfactory results there is recourse to imitation, another doubtful means of progress.

One who knows how to regulate the physical action required for a given tone quality can appeal to the mind more directly. The old method tells the pupil to employ a certain ideal of tone evolved from his own nature or sought through imitation, and the physical organs will act to produce a certain tonal effect. The modern method arranges the vocal mechanism to produce that effect, and from the sensation and sound of tone thus produced establishes the mental concept which then becomes the guide.

It is unreasonable to assume, as does the writer whose article we are considering, that the singer whose tone is developed by the aid of mechanical directions will thereafter always sing mechanically. Any modern singer who has within him the possibilities

of expressive vocalization is glad to roam the fields of song with all the inspiration claimed for the school of antiquity. In addition to this he may have a knowledge of the vocal process which will guard him from the errors of fatuous experiment and soaring ambitions.

In music we like what we are used to. Commenting upon the popular appreciation of new music a well-known composer remarked: "People never like a thing that they have not heard before." Thus writers of the successful light operas are usually criticised for being "reminiscent," an essential condition of immediate popularity.

One who has become accustomed to a sharp toned piano finds the mellow tones of a new instrument unsatisfactory. Some of the most beautiful voices that our concert stage has known are condemned because the ear of the commentator had accepted a different kind of tone as the model. A teacher occasionally finds after a period of up-hill work with a voice that the trouble is because of an ideal of tone in the pupil's mind which differs from the one he is trying to establish. Fond parents and friends may tell Sophronia that she does not "sing as well as she used to" because something sharp and throaty has been taken out of her voice.

Conception of ideal or beautiful tone is something shifting and various. It may serve an artistic purpose or it may lead astray. On the other hand, a tone produced with a certain position and action of the vocal organs is mechanically right, and you must bring your notions of tonal effect into conformity with that fact. In due time the personal note, the singer's own contribution to quality and expression, avails to color the tones so produced, and the mechanical aspects of tone by which the voice was "placed" do not obtrude themselves.

The efforts of singers to put this personal note into singing—to make the voice beautiful and expressive after the old Italian plan while the tones are produced with uncorrected faults of mechanism—are in some degree grotesque or pitiful. Of course no good teacher will allow such an exhibition; he will assert that vocalization is not in the old Italian method (if he be an advocate of it) until faults are eliminated. He is likely to decide, as do many teachers of the old school, that a pupil is not to sing songs until after one or two years of work for tone with scales, etc. This is a decree under which modern pupils are likely to be restive. And it is generally unnecessary.

The training of singers in those early times was, so far as we know, mostly for professional purposes, and they submitted to

rigors of discipline that would discourage nine-tenths of our pupils of to-day. Our "accomplished" young ladies are not willing to confine themselves exclusively to scales and vocalizes for any great length of time, and we must find a more direct way to give them something to show for their labors.

Our author says: "Of the many puzzling questions presented by the history of voice culture none is more baffling than the reason for the abandonment of the old Italian method." The reason seems very plain to the present writer. Conditions and objects of vocal study are so different in modern times that voice teachers would starve to death if they adhered strictly to the old method as it is now described.

Nobody does so adhere. The most bigoted advocate of the "purely instinctive process," if he is a successful teacher and not simply a coach, will be found making surreptitious excursions into the domain of mechanical action—giving directions as to the action of lips, tongue, chest, etc.—thus taking the first steps in the "abandonment of the old Italian method."

The method of voice training which lays foundations by regulating mechanical action is a difficult, even dangerous, one to handle if administered by any but a teacher who has mastered it.

Those who know certain facts concerning the mechanism of tone without knowing their relationship and interdependence are likely after a while to find themselves in a tangle with their teaching. It is generally such as these who are accused of ruining voices. To them the preachments of old Italian method are heartily recommended.

There is much to be said in favor of this *laissez-faire* course in the case of a large proportion of those who undertake to teach singing. It is better to leave things as they are than to risk making them worse.

Yet it is hard to see how the "old Italian" propaganda now in vogue is expected to advance the science of voice culture.

Its perennial attraction, to the profession, is however an indisputable fact. Teachers who are sincere cling to the idea for reasons set forth above. Those who are mere pretenders use the name as a badge of respectability, and the public is so accustomed to hear it referred to as a mysterious *summum bonum* of vocalization that any teacher can reassure and attract an inquirer for lessons by claiming to teach the Italian method.

Such exclusive advocacy of the old Italian method as we find in the article to which we have referred is quite comprehensible when we note the author's idea of the alternative. His descrip-

tion of the modern method would hardly recommend it to anyone. His acquaintance with exponents of it seems to have been unfortunate. He draws "a sharp contrast" between the old and the new systems, thus:

"One treated vocal cultivation as a branch of strictly musical education; the other makes it rather a system of throat gymnastics. One drew its inspiration from Nature; the other ignores Nature and turns to artifice. One appealed to musical instinct and esthetic feeling; the other places its reliance on purely physical observations of muscular movements and sensations."

He says again: "The supposed necessity of consciously guiding the vocal organs is never lost to view."

It should not be necessary to refute such statements. One might as truly suppose that the piano teacher who shows his pupil how to put the thumb under in scale playing expects him always to keep the thought of it in mind after he has progressed to concert playing.

Guiding physical action in the way which experience shows to be the best for any given purpose and expecting such action to become habitual and seem spontaneous, automatic, unconscious, "natural", is a commonplace of training.

Temporarily recognizing this, our critic of modern voice teaching makes a slight concession to its rationality thus: "When the voice has been 'placed' by the preliminary course in tone production, it should act automatically in the correct manner. . . . The technical training of the voice is then to be begun on the basis of artificially acquired habits."

Then he withdraws his concession: "But the theory seldom works out in practice. . . . It does not lead to spontaneous singing;" after which he draws the "sharp contrast" cited above, completely disposing of modernity.

There is no positive advantage claimed for the old system that is not equally in the modern when administered with reasonable intelligence. "Musicianship", the training of the ear and the mentality, is as essential to success with one as with the other method. "Strained," "throaty," "unnatural" tones are not allowed by a competent teacher of any system.

"Beautiful" tone is sought to-day as it was in days of old. Anyone who would displace "the natural use of the voice" when it is right is not a fair representative of modern teaching, which simply provides means to restore voices that have gone astray in "natural" singing, singing in which there was no guidance of the vocal mechanism.

The halo with which the old Italian method is invested in the eyes of its modern prophets seems to have escaped the observation of those who lived in the hey-day of it.

"Poor Italy" and "O ye degenerate moderns" are some of the exclamations, apropos of the singing of his time, made by Pierfrancesco Tosi in his *Observations on the Florid Song*, published in 1723. He says (Galliard's translation): "If all those who teach the first rudiments knew how to make use of this rule (concerning the upper range of tones) and to unite the feigned (falsetto) to the natural voice, there would not be now so great a scarcity of sopranos." "A diligent master . . . ought to leave no means untried so to unite the feigned and the natural voice that they may not be distinguished."

This looks like a reaching out toward the resources of modern method; at least, the one resource of beautiful tone seems to be discredited in some degree. And he actually touches upon the mechanism of tone production to the small extent of how the mouth should be held and what attitude should be assumed in order that the vocal organs may act freely.

J. B. Mancini who, fifty years later, published a book of *Practical Reflections on Florid Song*, shows still further departure from that "pure Italian method", the method which is unconscious of the vocal organs. He says: "Natural faults or those contracted under bad teaching can be eliminated only by a long course of action, the object of which is to correct the errors of the vocal organs or of the musical education." Such correction might perhaps be accomplished by the "beautiful tone" process; but Mancini shows throughout his work that he believes in some degree of physical regulation for tone.

He devotes one chapter to the arrangement of the mouth for tone, vowels and execution. He warns against cramping the throat, and says that the head should be so held that "the fibres of the throat remain soft."

Still more definite are his directions regarding the tongue. This he says should remain quiet in vocalization—and adds—this is decidedly modern—that good singers take great pains to groove the tongue for tone.

His judgment regarding imitation for pupils is that it is sometimes helpful to their progress, but that it is often prejudicial to their "own powers" and their "natural dispositions."

Like Tosi, Mancini fails to see the halo about the singing and teaching of his day. His opinion is thus expressed: "Our music is badly in decadence; we lack good schools and good singers."

So it would seem that the best each generation can do is to confess failure and lament the good old times! Here are Tosi, Mancini and our present writers with their faces toward the past assuring their contemporaries that their present efforts at progress are misdirected and futile.

This seems to be a habit of mind among theorists, justified to some extent by the mass of imaginative rubbish concerning the voice put forth in the name of progress. But it is a very unscientific habit and accords ill with the spirit of the times in other fields of endeavor.

The writer of the article which suggested the foregoing remarks withdraws his gaze for a brief moment from "the old glories of the art of bel canto" and glances over his shoulder at the future in his closing paragraph thus: "Some way may be found for utilizing scientific knowledge without involving the conscious direction of the vocal organs. A combination of the two systems, scientific and instinctive, may then be found to contain the most hopeful elements of a happy solution."

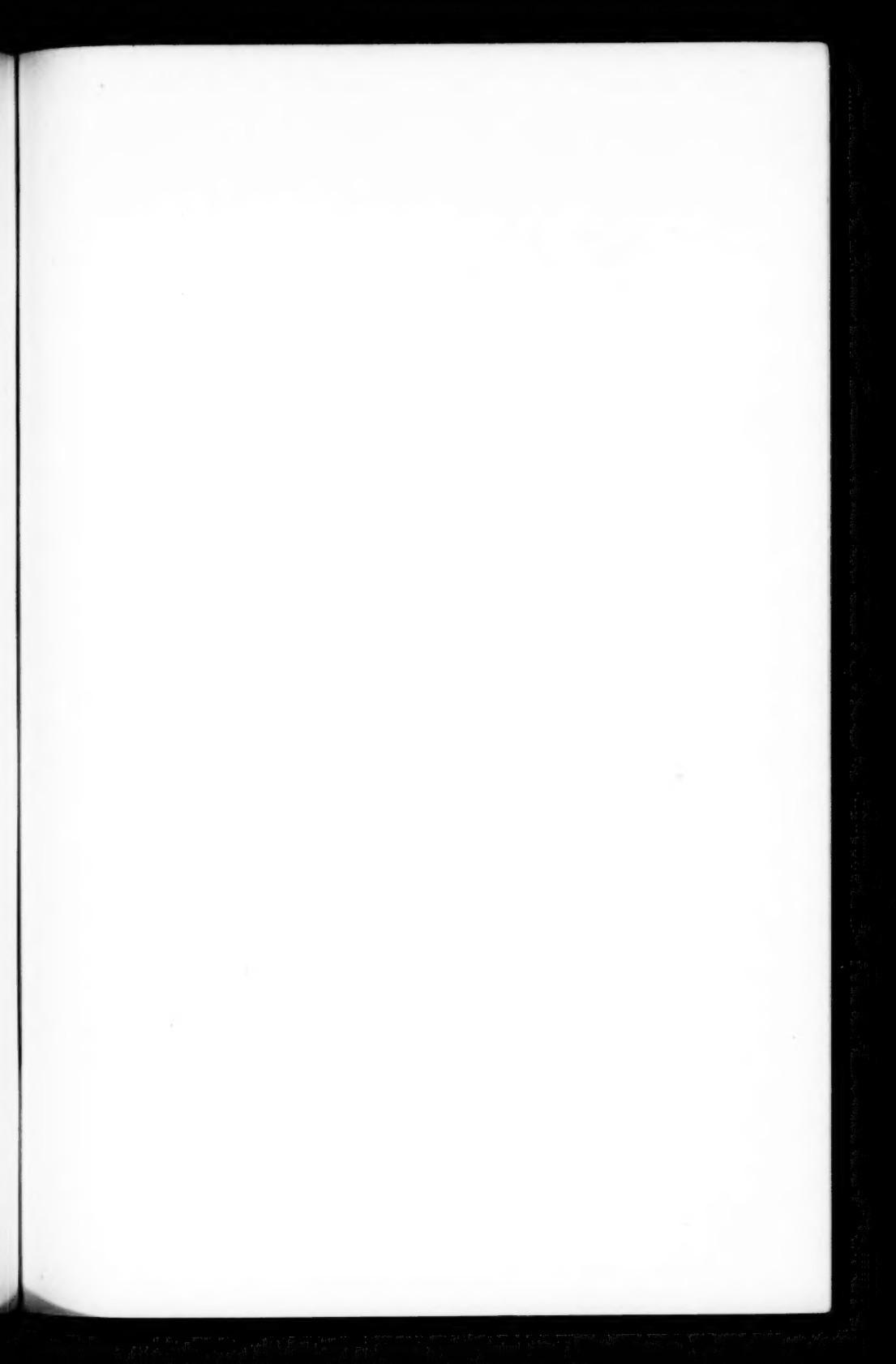
This happy solution should be seen as something more than a remote possibility. It will not so appear, however, to one who imagines the two systems combined in simultaneous operation. But if the bringing together of the scientific and the instinctive or inspirational methods place them in the relationship of preparation and fulfillment there need be no strain upon the imagination in foreseeing an establishment of the combination.

The "art of singing" is founded securely upon the "science of vocalization" by enough teachers and singers to demonstrate the feasibility and desirability of the combination. That it is not more generally recognized is because of the conditions of our "science." Our author, however, looks to the "possibility that the entire edifice of vocal science will ultimately be abandoned." Much of the ponderous erudition which physiologists and natural scientists would saddle upon voice culture should certainly be abandoned. As to the science which successfully guides the action of the vocal organs and brings a voice to a realization of all its resources, the need is that it be scientifically, i. e., accurately described.

At present this modern science upon which the progress of voice culture depends and which an increasing number of teachers successfully practice is obscured by the imaginative terminology and fanciful description with which it is commonly set forth.

The modern method, as a theory, will fare badly in contrast with the plausible arguments of our old Italian contemporaries

until we rescue it from the realm of sensation and place it upon a basis of fact—when talk about placing the voice in the head or the chest, directing columns of air forward or backward, etc. etc., is superseded or supplemented by statements of what really happens.





V. H. G. a d. g.

*Signatur*  
CABINET PORTRAIT

B. W. MEHLER, 15 ÖSTERGÅRDSTR. KØBENHAVN

26 October 1874

## NIELS WILHELM GADE

*In remembrance of the Centenary of his birth*

By CORNELIUS RUBNER

Gade was born in Copenhagen on the 22nd of February, 1817. His father was a maker of musical instruments. The boy studied the violin under Wexschall, and Weyse and Bergreen were his teachers in composition. He became a member of the orchestra of the Royal Opera House and, being a very proficient and successful violinist, played in many concerts. In 1841 he was awarded a prize by the Copenhagen Musical Union for his overture "Nachklänge aus Ossian," the judges being Louis Spohr and Friedrich Schneider. Then, in 1843, he received the important Royal stipend and went to Leipzig where he was very successful with his first Symphony in C minor and the aforesaid Overture, as well as with his cantata "Comala." He became a friend of both Mendelssohn and Schumann who had a great influence over Gade.

While at Leipzig he held the position of assistant conductor to Mendelssohn as well as teacher of composition at the Royal Conservatory of Music, and after Mendelssohn's death he was appointed principal conductor of the "Gewandhaus" orchestra.

He returned to his native city in 1848 and conducted the Musical Union founded in 1836, also filling the post of organist at the Holmens church. After Glaeser's death he became conductor at the Royal Opera House. In 1865 he was given charge of the Conservatory of Music founded by P. M. Moldenhauer.

Gade was the son-in-law of J. P. E. Hartmann, the well-known composer.

Among Gade's sixty-four compositions, the most important are: his Overtures, Symphonies and Cantatas for Soli, Chorus and Orchestra. His best-known Symphonies are the First in C minor, produced by Mendelssohn, 1843, Leipzig, the Fourth, and his greatest, in B-flat major (1850), the Sixth in G minor, full of passionate melancholy, the Seventh in F major (1864), and the Eighth in B minor, which connects by its marked northern atmosphere with the First Symphony. The best of his Overtures is "Nachklänge aus Ossian," Op. 1 (1841), which shows us the real, true Gade in all his beauty of color, harmony and melody. Then the Overtures "Hamlet," "Michael Angelo," "In the Highlands," "Overture in C major," Op. 14. Very important also in showing Schumann's influence over Gade are his ballads and dramatic cantatas for chorus: "Comala," "The Erl King's Daughter," "The Crusaders," "Kalanus," "Zion," "Psyche," "Baldr's Dream," the poetic "Spring-Fantasy," "The Message of Spring," "Holy Night," "The Stream," "Sunset," and his opera, "Mariotta."

The same beauty of "Ossian" is felt in his Arabesques, Aquarelles, Tone-pictures of the North and Folk-dances for piano, also in the Trio in F major, two violin sonatas, the Sonata for piano in C minor, Op. 28, dedicated to Liszt, a work of his youth.

Mention must also be made of his orchestral suites: "A summer's day in the country," Novellettes, and "Holbergiana," which can be said to have laid the foundation for the development of Scandinavian music for string orchestra.

**I**T should never be forgotten that Gade was the father and creator of the Scandinavian school of Romantic composers. At the age of twenty-four he looked into the world, a fearless characteristic northerner, full of nobility of purpose, true to his calling, and ever sincere in his portrayal of his country's beauties, its depths of imagination and poetry, its wealth of rugged strength and poetic melancholy. He at all times realized the importance of the message he had to give and his superior talent and splendid training helped him to accomplish the task he had set himself: he is rightly to be called the creator of Danish romanticism in music.

His palette of orchestration was rich in colors and his portrayal of the old heroic figures of the North stands to this day unequalled and masterful.

Gade's musical activities may be divided into two periods, the first of which may be called the weightier of the two. During the "Ossian" period he composed those of his works that have contributed the most to the national element in Scandinavian music and have for all times secured him a place in the hearts of his own people and by his treatment of that very element shown the world the beauty of that folk-lore of the north at the hands of a great sculptor.

The splendid means at his command of instrumentation gives to his orchestral works a certain elusive beauty of colouring that seems to have its root in the very heart of his country and which has ever since haunted the music of all Scandinavians. Through his friendship for both Mendelssohn and Schumann a new element creeps into his music, that of the German school of Romanticism, and he now reaches his second period.

However, I consider it unfair to Gade to call him a mere follower of German romanticism. True, the influence of those two great musical minds is felt but through it all runs the true northern spirit, at times enhanced by the foreign influence, but never overshadowed, proof conclusive of his masterful strength and a sincerity of purpose which governed him at all times and will always preserve for his work a place of unquestioned honor.

Gade was a great musician not only but he was a nature endowed with the greatest of gifts combined with a deeply religious spirit; he had one of the best and kindest hearts I have been blessed enough to encounter. His sense of justice and true simplicity of spirit,—not to forget his delightful sense of humor—never failed to make their appeal to everyone fortunate enough to know him.

His was a mind ever open to poetry and beauty and although a true patriot he never failed to show real admiration for the accomplishments and deeds of countries not his own.

While he had a splendid knowledge of his own country's literature (Oehlenschlaeger, Thorwaldsen, Holberg, Andersen, etc., etc.) he was also a student of foreign literature and spent much time reading Shakespeare, Ossian, Ariosto, Tasso, Hoffman, Jean Paul. Rarely has an artist lived a life as blessed in harmony of both heart and mind. He had no enemies and was loved by everyone. Surrounded by loving care as a child in his home he spent his days working and dreaming at his instrument and with his favorite authors beneath the great beech trees in the woods of Denmark. Later he found happiness in the sincere friendship and goodwill of Mendelssohn, who smoothed away many of the usual difficulties in the young student's path and ever lent a helping hand to his success by producing many of his compositions in Leipzig, the centre of German romanticism in music. Gade was a great favorite in Leipzig, more so at the time than Schumann, who though undoubtedly the greatest of the three, was recognized only by a few. Mendelssohn however realized Schumann's genius and it is well known that after the first performance of "Paradies und Peri" he exclaimed "Schumann is the nail to my coffin!" Mendelssohn was not on the best of terms with the great philosopher-musician and while he tried to ignore him, Gade was one of his staunchest admirers and ever studied Schumann's works with the true enthusiasm he brought to everything high and beautiful. Some of Gade's most fruitful work as conductor of the Copenhagen Musical Union was carried on in behalf of the compositions of his two great friends. The performances of Schumann's great choral works were true festivals for Gade. After Mendelssohn's untimely death, and Schumann's departure from Leipzig, two sad blows for Gade, he left that city and hastened home, to return to Leipzig only once more, in 1852, temporarily in charge of the "Gewandhaus" orchestra.

It has been my privilege to have known Gade very intimately as he was not only my teacher but a good friend of my father. In our home in Copenhagen I had every opportunity from early childhood to come into contact with all the musicians of that time. My father—a pupil of Mendelssohn—also Gade's, had many close friends among them, and such artists as Franz Bendel, de Konsky, Ferdinand Laub, Kellermann, Brelinger, Adolf Jensen, the well-known Gebrüder Müller string quartette, who played

most of the classic works from memory, Alfred Jaël, Joachim, Vieuxtemps, Wieniawski, F. Grützmacher, Rubinstein, Reinecke, Mme. Carlotta Patti, Norman-Neruda, etc., etc., were frequent visitors at our house. I was only a child then, but such men as Gade and Adolf Jensen did not deem it beneath their dignity to play little duets and folk-songs with the eager little boy of five. This letter of Gade shows how privileged we were in my mother's house; much later, in 1874, Carl Reinecke visited Copenhagen and Gade not knowing his address wrote this note:

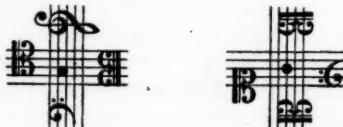
Dear Rybner: Will you give my greetings to Reinecke and tell him I have searched for him yesterday in all the hotels—not to mention cafés and the street cars and trams and I am glad to have at last discovered that he is staying with your parents.

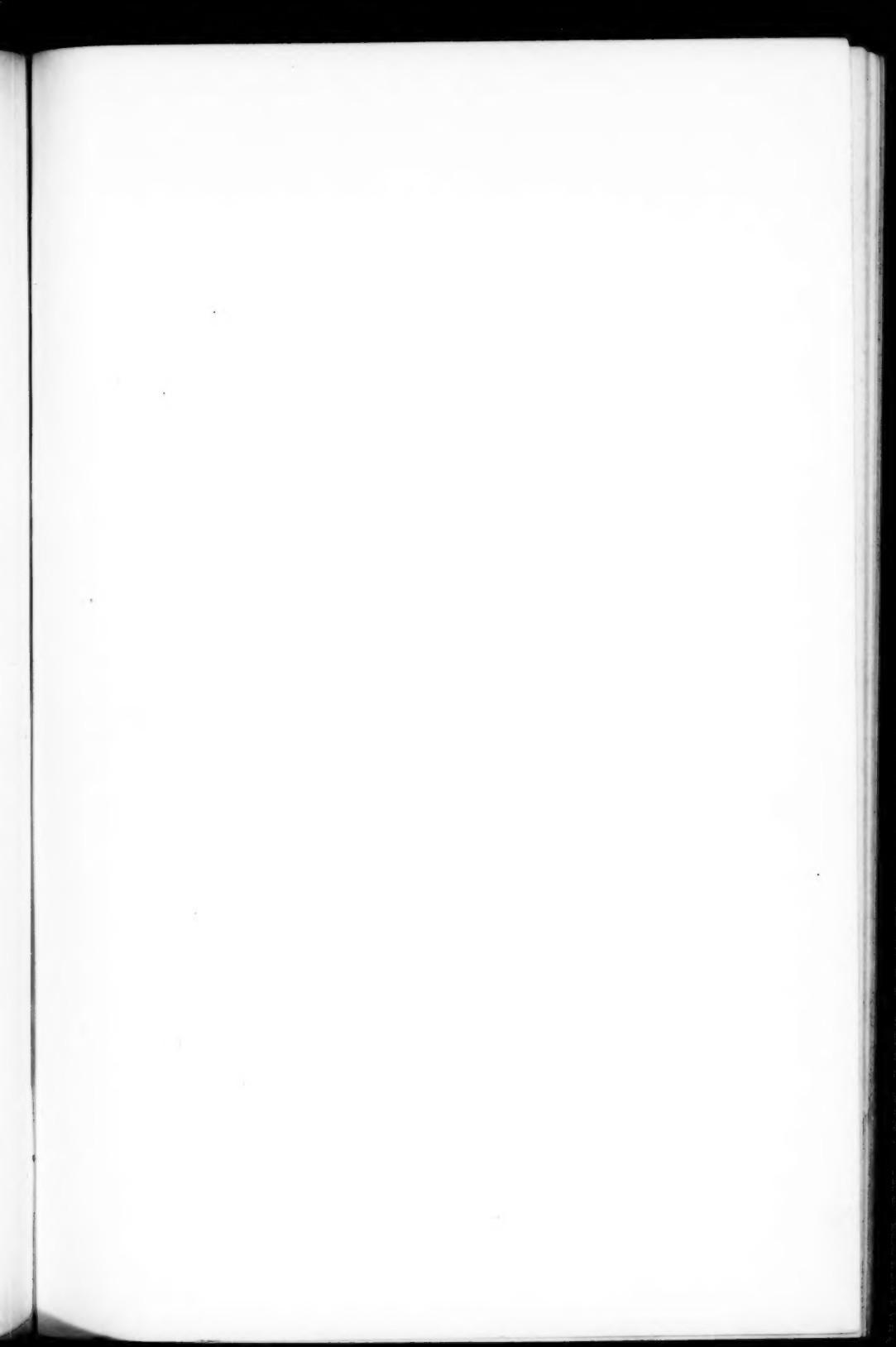
Yours,  
N. W. G.

It was at our house that Gade and Adolf Jensen met for the first time and the former laughingly remarked to Jensen that the name "Jensen" was far too common a one for Denmark. "Think," he said, "how many Jensens, Paulsens, Rasmussens, etc., live here"; whereupon Jensen very quickly retorted, "Well, how about your name? You have it on every street-corner in Denmark." (Gade meaning street in Danish.)

When I entered the Copenhagen Conservatory at fourteen years of age, Gade and Hartmann were my teachers in composition, and I had ample opportunity to realize in Gade the splendid teacher, who had a way of eradicating errors of long standing that was nothing short of genius. His manner of teaching was full of inspiration and geniality, and he preferred a good-humored railery to severity of judgement; but if he encountered superficiality in a pupil he was relentless.

His sense of humor showed itself also in his fondness for musical puns on his name. Comment on the fact that he was a splendid violinist he would counter by saying that he ought to be, considering his name—the open strings of the violin. The following amusing little diagram further illustrates the point. It represents his name in the different keys; he even made use of the old (*Discant*) treble key!





8 *Abante hant;*

This image shows a handwritten musical score for "Ode to Joy" by Ludwig van Beethoven. The score is written on five staves, each representing a different instrument or voice part. The instruments include a bassoon, a cello, a piano, a violin, and a soprano voice. The score is in common time and includes various dynamics such as forte, piano, and sforzando. There are also numerous rehearsal marks, including "Rehearsal 1" and "Rehearsal 2". The music is annotated with lyrics from the poem "Ode to Joy" in both German and English. The German lyrics are written in a cursive script, while the English translation is in a more formal, printed-style font. The score is signed "Beethoven" at the bottom right.

I shall never forget how amused he was when one day he came to my violin lesson at the Conservatory and, putting a piece of paper with a few bars jotted down on it before me, asked: "Play that, Cornelius." It was a passage from "The Crusaders" (Part II. Armida, the Siren's song, "The waves sweep my breast") he was just composing.

Allegro grazioso

After playing it for him, I said: "Dear Professor, it is rather hard to play. Why couldn't it be in flats?" Whereupon he slapped me on the back for my impudence and said: "You young rascal! I suppose I'll have to ask 'Armida' and all those sirens to play the clarinets to help the violins out!" (The orchestra score has one clarinet which plays the same passage in unison with the violins.)

I was fortunate enough as a young student to play in the concerts of the Musical Union under Gade's bâton and he was a most interesting leader. He always made it a point to explain to the orchestra and the chorus the works to be performed, before even attempting to rehearse them. He would go to the piano, explain each theme, each problem, sometimes intermingling his explanations with humorous remarks, but ever exacting strict attention. These rehearsals were most interesting, particularly those of the first performances of his own compositions.

I remember that of his Eighth Symphony and his reply to the question: "When will the 'Ninth' be performed?": "I have too much respect for Beethoven's Ninth!"

He used the bâton with ease and grace itself, and he made not the slightest difference in his treatment of the biggest draw-card in the way of soloist or the smallest of his chorus. He was ever indulgent and through that very kindness of his, as goes without saying, he obtained the desired results.

(The following amusing incident which Gade himself told me here comes to my mind and I cannot refrain from telling the story though it really has nothing to do with my subject: When he first went to Leipzig he arrived there with a small knowledge of the German language, and as he had an important call to make

the next day, and it was raining hard, he called a cab and gave the driver the address of his destination; the man looked astonished, but Gade got into the carriage and drove for nearly half an hour. When the carriage finally stopped, was paid, and went out of sight, Gade, after a little while, was most surprised to find himself in strangely familiar quarters—three houses from his hotel!

Gade was intensely interested in Grieg's talent, but told us once how, on calling on Grieg, he found him sitting at the piano, the fingers of one hand between the fingers of the other, on the keyboard, trying to find new chords by this extraordinary acrobatic stunt! What would Gade say to some of our modern harmonies by Debussy, Ravel, etc., and how would he think our composers had "found them!"

Gade told the following episode about Schumann. At one of the rehearsals in the Gewandhaus, Schumann led the orchestra for one of his new compositions. They were just playing a passage for four horns' and Schumann, intent upon listening to his own work, lost himself in his dreams. Slowly, like a man in his sleep, and utterly unconscious of everyone's astonishment, he left the platform and walked toward the back of the hall where among others Mendelssohn was sitting, speechless with surprise. Concertmaster F. David took the stand at once and tried his best to bring the somewhat shaky forces together, but somehow they finally had to come to a stop. Mendelssohn saw his chance at giving Schumann a little side thrust and loudly called out: "What has become of the composer-conductor?" Schumann was rudely awakened from his day-dream by the hearty laughter of all present.

Gade did not confine his conducting to his native city and Leipzig, but he travelled extensively as guest-conductor to many cities in Germany: Cologne (1862), Vienna, Berlin, also Paris (1871), Bonn-am-Rhein, Amsterdam (1873). He visited England in 1876 and 1882, and conducted his two choral works, "Zion" and "The Crusaders," at the Birmingham Festival. He several times conducted his choral works at the Nieder-Rheinische Music Festivals, which held a very high place in musical activities. They boasted a chorus of six hundred to seven hundred voices and an orchestra of one hundred and twenty-five musicians.

It was at one of these festivals that I had the great happiness of seeing my beloved master again after several years. On this particular occasion an incident occurred which reveals Gade's patriotism. Being the "Festival conductor," Gade was wearing the Danish Commandeur cross of the Dannebrog order and he

also wore the "Ordre pour le mérite," given him by Emperor William I, of Germany. After the performance he asked me to take off the German decoration (which is worn around the neck), as he did not much like having it on. I, realizing that this would look very discourteous and cause no end of hard feelings at the large reception where he was presently to go, saw only one way out of the difficulty. Quietly, as if acquiescing I, instead of untying it, tied it more securely and excused myself for being so awkward as to get it so tight that the knot could not be undone in a hurry. Gade, his usually kind face in ominous clouds, answered very severely—very severely, for him: "There is only one decoration—that of my King!" and his patriotism was very much ruffled.

Although as I have stated before, Gade had an open mind for all that was interesting in the musical world, he at first was not inclined to be very enthusiastic about Wagner. He even told me before I went to Leipzig "not to get lost in that pernicious atmosphere of Wagner and his disciples!"

At my return from Leipzig to my home, what a change had come over Gade! I went to see him at once and telling him of all my impressions during those years of study, I had at last to confess my enthusiasm for Wagner. To my surprise he begged me to play extracts from the "Nibelungen" for him and "Tristan." He showed keen interest and at last, with one of his inimitable chuckles, he went to his bookcase and proudly produced the score of "Tristan," most eagerly asking me to play for him the introduction to the second act with the beautiful effect of the horns, as he wanted to hear it played listening from another room. He admitted having perused and studied the scores of Wagner's operas very thoroughly and as a great secret: "that he liked 'Tristan' best of all."

Gade secretly loved but also feared Wagner as his was not the nature of a Verdi who changed his style of composing in his old age. A style so utterly new and epoch-making as Wagner's was perhaps too much for him to grasp at first in its entirety, although I have no doubt he fully realized with his prophetic, clear mind its far-reaching import even then.

After my parents and I moved to Baden-Baden, I often wanted to have Gade come and visit us, at the same time suggesting his conducting some concerts there. But at that time, in 1883, he declined all offers to conduct in foreign cities as he did not wish to leave home and his duties there. In a letter he writes (translated from the Danish):

Dear Cornelius,

I have considered the matter of your kind invitation to come to you but I will have to forego the great pleasure of seeing you all for many reasons. I do not feel well at all this spring; that dizziness that has troubled me, is bothering me again. I have been very tired and troubled. You must not count on me for your concerts this spring. I have been looking over your Violin Concerto with the greatest interest and hope indeed to hear you play it some day. With every good wish, etc., etc.

In another letter from Fredensborg, 23rd July, 1885, his summer residence, he writes:

Dear Rybner:

I am not feeling well enough to stand any journey; my eyes are inflamed. I cannot stand much sunshine, not much light anyhow, and think how tiring two days of concerts would be. Not alone the rehearsals, but think how many of my former friends I would have to talk to, however interesting and dear it would be to see them all. It will, I am afraid, tire me very much. Well, after all, as they say in Germany: "Aufgeschoben ist nicht aufgehoben," and we may talk this matter over some time, etc., etc."

In another letter, dated 27 Oct., 1885, he writes:

Dear Cornelius,

We are now working on Beethoven's "Ninth." It is the 50th concert season this year of the Musical Union. The first concert I begin with Kuhlau and Weyse (1836) and I end with the highest: "Beethoven." I am indeed sorry not to be able to perform Bach's St. Matthew Passion Music as I love it dearly, and as I have given it in the "Slotskirken," (Church of the castle). It is the greatest thing the Musical Union has ever done as you know, etc., etc.

To his duties as conductor, organist and director of the Conservatory of Music he gave his unceasing devotion and his untiring efforts until death came upon him like a thief in the night of December 21, 1890.

Let us honor and cherish his memory!

# BEETHOVEN'S INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Translated from E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Kreisleriana*  
with an introductory note

By ARTHUR WARE LOCKE.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

**E.** T. A. HOFFMANN is an important figure in the background of musical history of whom we have gradually lost sight in spite of his significant relationship to the course of musical events and to those greater creative personalities by whom he was overshadowed. Hoffmann is known today chiefly for the part he took in the German literary movement of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He also has a small place in the history of musical composition as the composer of the opera *Undine*, which had a successful run in Berlin in 1816. But his importance in the history of music does not come from the value of his numerous musical compositions which, curiously enough, coming from such a professedly radical romanticist in matters of music, follow the conservative methods of Spontini rather than the more progressive romantic style of Weber. Hoffmann did, however, exert a powerful influence on composers, critics, and the musical public through his literary writings in which he emphasized what at that time had little recognition in musical criticism, the romantic interpretation of music.

Ernst Theodor Wilhelm Hoffmann was born at Königsberg in 1776, six years after Beethoven was born, and died in Berlin in 1822, five years before Beethoven's death. He changed the Wilhelm in his name to Amadeus as a testimony to his enthusiasm for the works of Mozart. Trained to be a lawyer but possessing unusual gifts for both music and drawing, his life was one long vacillation between the sober career of a *Kammer-Gerichts-Rath* and the bohemian existence of a romantic artist. During the last years of his life in Berlin this romantic dualism of his nature expressed itself in days spent over ledgers and police records which he kept with exemplary conscientiousness and nights spent in the most fantastic revelries at Luther and Wegener's *Weinhaus*.

In 1803, Hoffmann was serving as a district attorney at Warsaw, which had been ceded to Prussia in 1795. In a letter to a friend, he wrote, "—a gay world, full of magic visions, shimmers and flickers about me—it seems as if something great must soon come of it—some kind of an artistic creation must appear out of the chaos!—whether it will be a book—an opera—a painting—*quod diis placebit.* . . ." and in his diary he writes, "Was I born to be a painter or a musician? I must put the question to the president of the senate or the prime minister; they would know!" As a matter of fact, at this time in Warsaw Hoffmann seemed to be making a highly successful combined use of his varied talents. Besides satisfactorily and faithfully performing his official legal duties, he conducted orchestral concerts in a newly opened concert-hall which he had helped to plan and on the interior decoration of which he had demonstrated his skill as a painter. His friend Hitzig wrote of his success as a conductor:

His tempi were fiery and fast but without exaggeration, and people used to say afterward that if he had been able to show what he could do with a good orchestra, it would not have been easy to find a conductor to surpass him in the interpretation of Mozart. He had already at that time brought out a Beethoven symphony (*Eroica?*) for which he was filled with admiration.

Partly as a result of some caricatures which he had drawn of his superiors, Hoffmann lost his government position and took up music as a profession. It was in 1809 and 1810 while he was eking out a bare existence as musical director at the theatre at Bamberg that the first of his *Kreisleriana* papers appeared in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* at Leipzig. These with other fantastical musical essays were published in book form at Bamberg in 1814, and it is from this time that Hoffmann's literary career really dates. His fame as a teller of weird stories spread through numerous translations into other countries, particularly into France. Balzac, Théophile Gautier, Gérard de Nerval, and George Sand extolled him, and his praises were sung in verse by Alfred de Musset in *Namouna* in 1833. Carlyle helped to introduce him to English readers by translating *Der goldne Topf*. In some ways the weird fancifulness of his style may be compared to the style of Edgar Allan Poe, though W. C. Brownell in his *American Prose Writers* considers Hoffmann more human than Poe. Scott in an essay *On the Supernatural in Fictitious Compositions*<sup>1</sup> spoke

<sup>1</sup>The Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 1. July, 1827.

of Hoffmann's stories as the feverish dreams of a diseased brain, comparing them to the visions which are produced by the immoderate use of opium and concluding that they were the result of the condition of Hoffmann's broken-down physique. But Scott lacked the sense for the weird and the supernatural which was such a characteristic element in the romantic imagination. Hoffmann's use of the supernatural was, like Coleridge's, the result of the exaltation of the imagination over the intellect and falls directly in line with his romantic interpretation of music as shown in the essay on *Beethoven's Instrumental Music*.

The full title of the two volumes published in Bamberg in 1814 is: *Fantasiestücke in Callot's<sup>1</sup> Manier. Blätter aus dem Tagebuche eines reisenden Enthusiasten. Mit einer Vorrede von Jean Paul.* Among the contents is a ghost story about Gluck containing a description of the overture to *Iphigenia in Aulis* and a fantastic dream picture of a performance of Mozart's *Don Juan*. There are six essays under the general title *Kreisleriana* of which *Beethoven's Instrumental Musik* is No. 4. The name *Kreisleriana* comes from the weird figure of the Kapellmeister Johannes Kreisler around whom the subject matter centers. It is not known why Hoffmann chose the name *Kreisler*. The description of his character—a struggling musician at odds with the world, ranting against the philistinism of musical society and rhapsodizing about his art—is obviously autobiographical.<sup>2</sup>

The essay on *Beethoven's Instrumental Music* is important as a contemporary criticism of Beethoven and as a demonstration of the growing tendency in music towards the romantic as opposed to the classic point-of-view. As an appreciation of the *Fifth Symphony* this essay is very remarkable when contrasted with the contemporary criticism which considered the *Third* and *Fifth Symphonies* as a falling off from the *First* and the *Second*. Philip Spitta has said:

Hidden in the *Kreisleriana* there is a power of extraordinary force which has permeated all the writing about music during the century. The pictures of the three great Austrian instrumental composers which Hoffmann has drawn and placed next to one another are conceived with such deep-seeing musical insight and portrayed with such successful

<sup>1</sup>Jacques Callot, celebrated French etcher, engraver, and caricaturist (1592-1635).

<sup>2</sup>Sir George Grove in his Dictionary in an article on Jacob Böhner gives this man the credit of being the original from whom Hoffmann drew the portrait of Kreisler. Dr. Edgar Istel in the recent Reclam edition of the *Kreisleriana* does not mention Böhner. It is more likely that the character is drawn principally from Hoffmann's own experiences.

poetic power that they are as effective to-day as when Hoffmann sketched them.<sup>1</sup>

Hoffmann's appreciation of the imaginative qualities in music made a strong appeal to those composers who were striving not so much to get away from classical forms as to make music more personal and more poetically suggestive. In 1820, Beethoven sent Hoffmann his greeting in these words:

I am aware that you interest yourself in my work. Allow me to say that it pleases me very much coming from a man gifted with such exceptional talents as you: I wish you all that is beautiful and good.

Schumann in his youth immersed himself in the imaginative, eccentric world of Jean Paul and Hoffmann, who, indeed, got many of his ideas from Jean Paul. Just as the *Papillons* is a reflection of Schumann's enthusiasm for Jean Paul's novel *Die Flegeljahre*, the *Kreisleriana* and the titles of some of Schumann's other pieces such as *Nachtstücke* and *Fantasiestücke* testify to his reading of Hoffmann's writings. The general character of Schumann's *Kreisleriana* suggests admirably the rhapsodic outpourings of the Kapellmeister Kreisler of Hoffmann's sketches.

Hoffmann was one of the earliest writers to influence Wagner. As early as 1827, Hoffmann's stories with their background of Dresden life fascinated Wagner, and they continued to attract him all through his life because they took him back to the time when he was a struggling artist among the familiar scenes of city life which Hoffmann described. As remarkable as was Wagner's appreciation of Beethoven's genius, Ernest Newman in his recent book on *Wagner as Man and Artist* reluctantly admits that Wagner was stimulated in his worship of Beethoven by Hoffmann. It can be shown that Hoffmann also anticipated many other of Wagner's ideas on art.

The essay on *Beethoven's Instrumental Music* is a revision of an article by Hoffmann in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (xii. Jahrgang, No. 40, July 4, 1810) on the Beethoven *Fifth Symphony* and the *Trios*, Op. 70, which had been published the year before by Breitkopf and Härtel. The essay as it now stands was first published in 1813 in the *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in Leipzig and afterwards reprinted in the *Fantasiestücke in Callot's Manier* when the collected *Kreisleriana* and other essays were published together for the first time.

<sup>1</sup>Deutsche Rundschau, Dec., 1892, *Über Robert Schumanns Schrift*.

**BEETHOVEN'S INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC***FROM**E. T. A. HOFFMANN'S "KREISLERIANA"*

When we speak of music as an independent art, we should properly refer only to instrumental music which, scorning the assistance and association of another art, namely poetry, expresses that peculiar property which can be found in music only. It is the most romantic of all the arts, one might almost say the only really romantic art, for its sole object is the expression of the infinite. The lyre of Orpheus opens the doors of Orkus. Music discloses to man an unknown kingdom, a world having nothing in common with the external sensual world which surrounds him and in which he leaves behind him all definite feelings in order to abandon himself to an inexpressible longing.

Have you even suspected this peculiar power of music, you pitiable instrumental composers who have taken such anxious pains to portray definite emotions, yes, even actual occurrences? How could you possibly conceive of using plastically that art which is just the opposite of sculpture? Your sunrises, your thunderstorms, your *Batailles des trois Empereurs*, etc., were nothing but ridiculous aberrations and have been deservedly punished by absolute oblivion.

In song, where the words of the poem indicate definite effects, the magic power of music operates like that wonderful elixir of the sages, a few drops of which make every drink more exquisite and more delicious. The passions which are portrayed in opera—love, hate, anger, doubt—are clothed by music in the purple glow of romanticism, and the very experiences of life lead us out of life into the realm of the infinite.

The ever-increasing magic power of music rends asunder the bonds of the other arts.

That inspired composers have raised instrumental music to its present height is certainly not due to the improvement in the medium of expression, the perfecting of the instruments or the greater virtuosity of the performers, but comes rather from the deeper spiritual recognition of the peculiar nature of music.

Mozart and Haydn, the creators of the instrumental music of to-day, show us the art for the first time in its full glory; the one who has looked on it with an all-embracing love and penetrated its innermost being is—Beethoven! The instrumental compositions of all three masters breathe the same romantic spirit, which lies in a similar deep understanding of the essential property of the art; there is nevertheless a decided difference in the character of their compositions. The expression of a child-like joyous spirit predominates in those of Haydn. His symphonies lead us through boundless green woods, among a merry gay crowd of happy people. Young men and maidens pass by dancing; laughing children peeping from behind trees and rose-bushes playfully throw flowers at one another. A life full of love, of felicity, eternally young, as before the fall; no suffering, no sorrow, only a sweet melancholy longing for the beloved form that floats in the distance in the glow of the sunset, neither approaching nor vanishing, and as long as it is there

night will not come for it is itself the evening glow which shines over mountain and wood.

Mozart leads us into the depths of the spirit world. We are seized by a sort of gentle fear which is really only the presentiment of the infinite. Love and melancholy sound in the pure spirit voices; night vanishes in a bright purple glow and with inexpressible longing we follow the forms which, with friendly gestures, invite us into their ranks as they fly through the clouds in the never-ending dance of the spheres. (Mozart's Symphony in E flat Major known as "The Swan Song.")

In the same way Beethoven's instrumental music discloses to us the realm of the tragic and the illimitable. Glowing beams pierce the deep night of this realm and we are conscious of gigantic shadows which, alternately increasing and decreasing, close in on us nearer and nearer, destroying us but not destroying the pain of endless longing in which is engulfed and lost every passion aroused by the exulting sounds. And only through this very pain in which love, hope, and joy, consumed but not destroyed, burst forth from our hearts in the deep-voiced harmony of all the passions, do we go on living and become hypnotised seers of visions!

An appreciation of romantic qualities in art is uncommon; romantic talent is still rarer. Consequently there are few indeed who are able to play on that lyre the tones of which unfold the wonderful region of romanticism.

Haydn conceives romantically that which is distinctly human in the life of man; he is, in so far, more comprehensible to the majority.

Mozart grasps more the superhuman, the miraculous, which dwells in the imagination.

Beethoven's music stirs the mists of fear, of horror, of terror, of grief, and awakens that endless longing which is the very essence of romanticism. He is consequently a purely romantic composer, and is it not possible that for this very reason he is less successful in vocal music which does not surrender itself to the characterization of indefinite emotions but portrays effects specified by the words rather than those indefinite emotions experienced in the realm of the infinite?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Wagner's *Zukunftsmusik*: "The ample heritage and promise of both of these masters (Haydn and Mozart) was taken up by Beethoven; he matured the Symphonic art-work to so engrossing a breadth of form, and filled that form with so manifold and entralling a melodic content, that we stand today before the Beethovenian Symphony as before the landmark of an entirely new period in the history of universal Art; for through it there came into the world a phenomenon not even remotely approached by anything the art of any age or any people has to show us."

In this Symphony instruments speak a language whereof the world at no previous time had any knowledge; for here with a hitherto unknown persistence, the purely musical Expression enchains the hearer in an inconceivably varied mist of nuances; rouses his inmost being, to a degree unreachable by any other art; and in all its changefulness reveals an ordering principle so free and bold, that we can but deem it more forcible than any logic, yet without the laws of logic entering into it in the slightest—nay rather, the reasoning march of Thought, with its track of causes and effects, here finds no sort of foothold. So that this Symphony must positively appear to us a revelation from another world; and in truth it opens out a scheme (*Zusammenhang*) of the world's phenomena quite different from the ordinary logical scheme, and whereof one foremost thing is undeniable—that it thrusts home with the most overwhelming conviction, and guides our Feeling with such a sureness that the logic-mongering Reason is completely routed and disarmed thereby."

Translation by W. A. Ellis. *Wagner's Prose Works*. Vol. III. pp. 317-318.

Beethoven's mighty genius oppresses the musical rabble; he excites himself in vain before them. But the wiseacres, looking around with serious countenances, assure us, and one can believe them as men of great understanding and deep insight, that the worthy B. does not lack a most abundant and lively imagination; but he does not know how to curb it. There can be no discussion of the choice and the formation of his ideas, but he scatters the good old rules in disorder whenever it happens to please him in the momentary excitement of his creative imagination.

But what if the inner, underlying organic structure of these Beethoven compositions has escaped your superficial glance? What if the trouble is with you, that you do not understand the master's speech, intelligible to those to whom it is dedicated? What if the gates to that innermost shrine remain closed to you?—In truth, quite on a level with Haydn and Mozart as a conscious artist, the Master, separating his Ego from the inner realm of sound, takes command of it as an absolute monarch. Aesthetic mechanicians have often lamented the absolute lack of underlying unity and structure in Shakespeare, while the deeper glance could see the beautiful tree with leaves, blossoms, and fruit growing from one germinating seed; so it is that only through a very deep study of Beethoven's instrumental music is that conscious thoughtfulness of composition (*Besonnenheit*) disclosed which always accompanies true genius and is nourished by a study of art.

What instrumental work of Beethoven testifies to this to a higher degree than the immeasurably noble and profound Symphony in C minor? How this marvellous composition carries the hearer irresistibly with it in its ever-mounting climax into the spirit kingdom of the infinite! What could be simpler than the main motive of the first allegro composed of a mere rhythmic figure which, beginning in unison, does not even indicate the key to the listener. The character of anxious, restless longing which this portion carries with it only brings out more clearly the melodiousness of the second theme!—It appears as if the breast, burdened and oppressed by the premonition of tragedy, of threatening annihilation, in gasping tones was struggling with all its strength for air; but soon a friendly form draws near and lightens the gruesome night. (The lovely theme in G major which is first taken up by the horn in E flat Major.)<sup>1</sup>—How simple—let us repeat once more—is the theme which the master has made the basis of the whole work, but how marvelously all the subordinate themes and bridge passages relate themselves rhythmically to it, so that they continually serve to disclose more and more the character of the allegro indicated by the leading motive. All the themes are short, nearly all consisting of only two or three measures, and besides that they are allotted with increasing variety first to the wind and then to the stringed instruments. One would think that something disjointed and confused would result from such elements; but, on the contrary, this very organization of the whole work as well as the constant reappearances of the motives and harmonic effects, following closely on one another, intensify to the highest degree that feeling of inexpressible longing. Aside from the fact that the contrapuntal treatment testifies to a thorough study of the art, the connecting links,

<sup>1</sup>G Major entrance of the Second Theme in the development section.—Tr.

the constant allusions to the main theme, demonstrate how the great Master had conceived the whole and planned it with all its emotional forces in mind. Does not the lovely theme of the Andante con moto in A flat sound like a pure spirit voice which fills our souls with hope and comfort?—But here also that terrible phantom which alarmed and possessed our souls in the Allegro instantly steps forth to threaten us from the thunderclouds into which it had disappeared, and the friendly forms which surrounded us flee quickly before the lightning. What shall I say of the Minuet?<sup>1</sup> Notice the originality of the modulations, the cadences on the dominant major chord which the bass takes up as the tonic of the continuing theme in minor—and the extension of the theme itself with the looping on of extra measures. Do you not feel again that restless, nameless longing, that premonition of the wonderful spirit-world in which the Master holds sway? But like dazzling sunlight the splendid theme of the last movement bursts forth in the exulting chorus of the full orchestra.—What wonderful contrapuntal interweavings bind the whole together. It is possible that it may all sound simply like an inspired rhapsody to many, but surely the heart of every sensitive listener will be moved deeply and spiritually by a feeling which is none other than that nameless premonitory longing; and up to the last chord, yes, even in the moment after it is finished, he will not be able to detach himself from that wonderful imaginary world where he has been held captive by this tonal expression of sorrow and joy. In regard to the structure of the themes, their development and instrumentation, and the way they are related to one another, everything is worked out from a central point-of-view; but it is especially the inner relationship of the themes with one another which produces that unity which alone is able to hold the listener in one mood. This relationship is often quite obvious to the listener when he hears it in the combination of two themes or discovers in different themes a common bass, but a more subtle relationship, not demonstrated in this way, shows itself merely in the spiritual connection of one theme with another, and it is exactly this subtle relationship of the themes which dominates both allegros and the Minuet—and proclaims the self-conscious genius of the Master.

How deeply, O! exalted Master! have your noble piano compositions penetrated into my soul; how hollow and meaningless in comparison all music seems which does not emanate from you, or from the contemplative Mozart, or that powerful genius, Sebastian Bach. With what joy I received your Opus 70, the two noble trios, for I knew so well that after a little practice I could play them to myself so beautifully. And it has been such a pleasure to me this evening that now, like one who wanders through the sinuous mazes of a fantastic park, among all kinds of rare trees, plants, and wonderful flowers, always tempted to wander further, I am unable to tear myself away from the marvelous variety and interweaving figures of your trios. The pure siren voices of your gaily varied and beautiful themes always tempt me on further and further. The talented lady who to-day played the first trio so beautifully just to please me, the Kapellmeister Kreisler, and before whose piano I am now sitting and writing, brought it home to me most clearly that

<sup>1</sup>The scherzo movement had no title in the original score.—Tr.

we should honor only that which is inspired and that everything else comes from evil.

Just now I have been playing over from memory some of the striking modulatory passages from the two trios. It is true that the piano (*Flügel-Pianoforte*)<sup>1</sup> as an instrument is more adaptable to harmonic than to melodic uses. The most delicate expression of which the instrument is capable cannot give to the melody that mobile life in thousands and thousands of shadings which the bow of the violinist or the breath of the wind-instrument player is capable of giving. The player struggles in vain against that unconquerable difficulty set in his path by a mechanism which is based on the principle of making a string vibrate and sound as the result of percussion. On the other hand there is no instrument (with the exception of the much more limited harp) which has control to such a degree as the piano, with its completely grasped chords, of the kingdom of harmony, the treasures of which it discloses to the connoisseur in the most wonderful forms and images. When the imagination of the master has conceived the complete tone-picture with its many groups of figures, its bright lights and deep shadows, he can bring it to life on the piano with the result that it emerges from the world of his imagination all brightly coloured. The many-voiced score of this truly musical wonder-book, which portrays in its pictures all the wonders of the art of music even to the magic chorus of the varied instruments, comes to life under the hands of a virtuoso, and an effective polyphonic orchestral transcription played in the right way may well be compared to the artistic engraving of a great painting. Consequently the piano is exceptionally adapted for improvising, for transcribing orchestral scores, for unaccompanied sonatas, chord playing, etc.; and also for trios, quartets, quintets, etc., with the addition of the usual stringed instruments—compositions which really belong to the sphere of piano composition because, if composed in the right way, i. e. in four or five voices, they are based on harmonic development which naturally excludes the solo treatment of separate instruments in virtuoso passages.

I have a strong aversion for all the usual piano concerti. (Those of Mozart and Beethoven are not so much concerti as symphonies with piano obbligato.) In such works the virtuosity of the solo player in passage playing and in melodic expression is supposed to be brought out; but the best player with the most beautiful instrument strives in vain for that which the violinist, for example, achieves with ease. Each solo passage sounds dry and lifeless after the sonorous *tutti*s of the violins and wind-instruments; and one is amazed at the finger agility, etc., without having one's feelings at all stirred.

How wonderfully the Master understood the characteristic spirit of the instrument and consequently handled it in its most appropriate manner!

At the bottom of each movement there lies an effective singable theme, simple but fruitful of all the various contrapuntal developments, such as diminution, etc. All the other secondary themes and figures are organically related to this principal idea so that all the material

<sup>1</sup>The newly invented "Hammerklavier."—Tr.

divided among the different instruments is combined and ordered in the most complete unity. Such is the structure of the whole; but in this artistic structure the most wonderful pictures, in which joy and sorrow, melancholy and ecstasy, appear side by side, change in restless succession. Strange shapes begin a merry dance, now dissolving in a blur of light, now sparkling and flashing as they separate, chasing and following one another in kaleidoscopic groups; and in the midst of this unlocked spirit-world the ravished soul listens to the unknown language and understands all those mysterious premonitions by which it is possessed.

Only that composer penetrates truly into the secrets of harmony who is able to stir the soul of man through harmony; to him, the mathematical proportions which to the grammarian without genius are only dry arithmetical problems, are magic combinations from which he can build a world of visions.

In spite of the geniality which predominates in the first trio, not excepting the emotional Largo, Beethoven's genius, as a whole, remains serious and religious in spirit. It seems as if the Master thought that one could not speak of deeply-hidden things in common words but only in sublime and noble language, even when the spirit, closely penetrating into these things, feels itself exalted with joy and happiness; the dance of the priests of Isis must take the form of an exultant hymn.

Instrumental music must avoid all senseless joking and triviality, especially where it is intended to be taken as absolute music and not to serve some definite dramatic purpose. It explores the depths of the soul for the presentiments of a joy which, nobler and more beautiful than anything experienced in this narrow world, comes to us from the unknown land; it inflames in our breasts an inner, rapturous life, a more intense expression than is possible through words, which are appropriate only to our limited earthly feelings. This seriousness of all Beethoven's instrumental and piano music proscribes all those breakneck passages for both hands up and down the piano, the curious leaps, the laughable capriccios, the skyscraper notes with five and six ledger line foundations, with which the latest piano compositions are filled. If it is a question of mere finger facility, the Master's piano compositions are not difficult, for such scales, trill figures, etc., as are found in them should be in the fingers of every practiced pianist; and yet the performance of these compositions is certainly difficult. Many a so-called virtuoso condemns the Master's piano compositions adding to the criticism, "Difficult," the reproach, "and most ineffective!"—The difficulty lies in this, that the proper, unforced, performance of a Beethoven work requires nothing less than that one shall thoroughly understand it, shall penetrate into its deepest being, that the performer conscious of his own consecration to his purpose must dare boldly to enter into the circle of mystical visions which its powerful magic calls forth. He who does not feel this consecration, who only considers this sacred music as an entertainment, as something to pass the time when there is nothing else to do, as a mere temporary sensuous pleasure for dull ears, or for the benefit of showing himself off—he should leave this music alone. Such a one sympathizes with that criticism: "And most ineffective!" The genuine

artist throws himself into the work, which he first comprehends from the point-of-view of the composer, and then interprets. He scorns the exploitation of his personality in any way whatever, and all his poetic imagination and intellectual understanding are bent towards the object of calling forth into active life, with all the brilliant colors at his command, the noble and enchanting images and visions which the Master with magic power has shut up in his work, that they may surround mankind in bright, sparkling rings and, enflaming his fancy and his innermost feelings, carry him in wild flights into the distant spirit kingdom of sound.

## EXOTICISM IN MUSIC IN RETROSPECT

By D. C. PARKER

THE dictionary tells us that the word "exotic" signifies something foreign and that it is the opposite of indigenous. The definition is important, for the student of the arts cannot fail to be struck by the strange manner in which customs and ideas are carried from one scene to another. People who travel or emigrate take with them not only their worldly goods, but their habits and religions, and, in many cases, these latter are preserved more jealously by the exile than by him who moves among his own folk. But there is another aspect of exoticism which, if less generally recognised, is equally important. It deals with the adoption of foreign terms on the part of the artist. It is difficult to account for the presence of the desire which has so often manifested itself, to write about people and describe sights which are far removed from us by time and space; but it may, I think, be partly attributed to the fact that the mobility of the imagination far exceeds the mobility of the body, and that, while outwardly the creator often leads the most uneventful of lives and spends his years in a study or studio, his mental existence is full of adventure and surprise, for he fights the battles of his characters and beholds the landscape towards which his pilgrims have turned their eyes.<sup>1</sup> Or it may arise from a consuming desire to fashion a universe of beauty, an artistic Utopia or El Dorado, a world in which heroes and heroines possess all the virtues and graces. And, as the conquistadores came back to the old world with wonderful tales of the glory and richness of far-off provinces, the recital of such exploits may possibly have given birth to the belief that distance lends enchantment, and have tempted artists to portray the life and manners of semi-legendary states in which Nature entralls man by her endless blandishments.

A proper appreciation of the value of exoticism in music depends upon that artistic cosmopolitanism, upon that urbanity of mind which alone can give us a perception of striking and unusual features. The men who were first attracted by new sights and

<sup>1</sup>Compare the remark of Anatole France's Monsieur Bergeret: "If Napoleon had been as intelligent as Spinoza, he would have written four books in a garret."

unfamiliar modes of expression were those who inhabited that area over which the polyglot life of the Mediterranean, the mother of a hybrid culture, exercised a deep and abiding influence. From the East came merchants with their caravans, bringing along with their silks and spices something of the ancient poetry and picturesqueness of the Orient. In Greece, from which country the beautiful myths of Orpheus and Arion emanated, the power of music over mind and body was early recognized and, as the love of culture spread westward, great activity manifested itself in Italy and Spain.

In treating this question it is necessary to say a word about the South. There is a Capri and Sorrento, a Florence and Athens in the heart of every artist. Like Goethe's heroine, he sighs for the land where the orange trees grow and we cannot, therefore, test the value of exoticism or measure its extent if we do not carefully examine the influence of the South and Southern characteristics upon the sensibilities of the poet. The relationship between music and the South is more real than apparent. The words *orchestra* and *chorus* are of Greek origin, and the mention of the term *opera* at once reminds us of Florence. In music the difference between the North and the South is largely the difference between intensive and extensive culture. In the North men are by nature introspective and the song of the Northern races comes from within; in the South people are little given to self-examination. Where Nature woos and the sun shines in all its radiance men sing because they must and with little thought of the morrow. The song of the South is before all else emotional; it is an expression of the joy which animates man in beautiful surroundings, a contrast to that of the North which so often provides a refuge from the tempest which rages without. When Nietzsche declared that it was necessary to "mediterraneanise" music he meant that it was necessary to restore to it something of the "gay science" of the laughing and volatile South.

It is, perhaps, surprising that the cosmopolitan life to which I have referred did not reveal itself to any great extent in the older composers. The Modes are, certainly, of Greek origin. But there exists little music which could be described as exotic until a comparatively recent date. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the vast resources of the orchestra have been available only in modern times. The music of Bach and Handel owes nothing to colour, for it has none in the present-day sense. In Handel we see an example of a man who treated a wide variety of subjects, sacred and secular, classical and topical,

elaborate and slight. But there is not, so far as I know, a bar which is tinged with exoticism. The influence of the singing schools of the seventeenth century is discernible, no doubt, but apart from the easy flow of the voice parts, the art of writing which he acquired when studying in Italy, there is nothing to remark in this connection. As a matter of fact, it was better for music that its grammar and syntax, as it were, should have been firmly established by Bach and Handel than that these composers should have indulged in what must have been colour experiments. For, by constant allegiance to one style, whether dictated by force of circumstances (*e.g.*, lack of instrumental means) or not, they did a greater service. In the wide sense they raised music from a patois to a language, and men from the ends of the earth who loved the works of these two giants had, at least, something in common.

Gluck passed from "Le Cinesi" to "Don Juan," from "Alessandro nell' Indie" and "Orfeo ed Euridice" to "Les Pélerins de la Mecque," but commentators have not found that change of locality was responsible for the temporary introduction of new features. There is little difference between his Scythians and his Greeks. Speaking generally, the composers of the classic age were restricted to one or two very primitive effects, such as a few strokes of the triangle or of the cymbals, when they wished to give their works a picturesque touch. We find this in Mozart's "Il Seraglio" and Beethoven's "Ruins of Athens." The music of "Don Giovanni" and "Figaro" does not differ in its essentials from that of "La Clemenza di Tito" or "The Magic Flute." It is interesting to note, however, that Gluck and Mozart showed a desire to give appropriate piquancy to their scores when they introduced a fandango into them.

The more one studies this question of exoticism the more one feels that it is an accretion. When a great composer writes at the top of his form he reveals himself to us, and he can do us no greater service. The action of "Fidelio" takes place in Spain, but it is the playbill, not the music, which tells us so. In this sense all art is autobiographical. Henry James rightly holds that the most valuable thing in Balzac is Balzac himself. He has been called the novel itself as Molière was called the comedy itself. Such a view is not inconsistent with a recognition of the value of an extensive use of local colour. "The style is the man," said Buffon in a memorable address to the French Academy, and the most vital writers have the power of giving us themselves in copious measure in all their works.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that an over-indulgence in local colour, an excessive flirting with exotic effects sometimes leads to curious results. We see a fair example of this in "Samson and Delilah." Lest I should be misunderstood I hasten to say that I am an admirer of Saint-Saëns's music and that I have on many occasions had the honour of paying him that homage which is his due. But what do we find in his dramatic masterpiece? The opening choruses of Hebrews derive their idiom from Bach and Handel. The entrance of Delilah and her flower-maidens is full of a grace that is typically Parisian. The celebrated *Mon cœur s'ouvre à ta voix* is French in its inspiration. The "Dance of the Priestesses of Dagon" and the "Bacchanale" carry us off to Palestine. The chorus of aged Hebrews reminds us of the music of the synagogue. In his art, as in his life, Saint-Saëns has been a great traveller, but despite the cleverness and beauty of his score, and both are great, the opera as a whole suffers from a lack of homogeneity. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the absurdities which abound in the pages of dramatic music, such as the mazurka in Gounod's "Polyeucte"; suffice it to say that in men of the first rank we find a consistency of style which is not destroyed by the introduction of picturesque traits and lavish colouring. Out of two ingredients, laughter and tears, must the artist fashion his art.

It may be well to point out at this juncture that local colour is often confused with characterisation. Reference to the stage works of Mozart will at once demonstrate the difference between them. Characterisation is an integral part of a dramatic work. I hardly imagine that anyone intimate with Mozart's operas would seriously contend that the composer was deficient in characterisation, but, as I have tried to show, there is little local colour in his scores. To take another example, in "Tristan and Isolde," while the personality of Wagner is evident in every bar, the characters preserve their individualities throughout. To insist too emphatically upon the use and value of local colour is to dislodge characterisation from its legitimate place in the artistic scheme.

Turning to later masters we find evidence of an increasing disposition to dabble in the picturesque. There is, perhaps, little to detain us in the ballet of "William Tell" or the "Bohemian Dance" of "Les Huguenots," but the point to note is that composers showed a readiness to treat subjects which, in modern hands, would have given ample opportunity for the introduction of exquisite shades of orchestral colouring. Cherubini's "Les

"Abencérages" is an example of this. In Boieldieu's "La Dame Blanche," described by a critic as "*un opéra tyrolien dont l'action se passe en Ecosse*," we meet with the familiar air of "Robin Adair," the *chant ordinaire de la tribu d'Avenal*. The melody of Auber is derived from the French *chanson*, but the composer of "La Circassienne" and "Le Dieu et la Bayadère," if I mistake not, introduced a negro dance and creole melody into his "Manon."

#### FRANCE

Coming to the French music of the nineteenth century we meet a remarkable exploitation of the exotic. Those familiar with the artistic history of the French people will hardly be astonished at this. In his beautiful story, "Honorine," Balzac contrasts the English and the French. If the French, he remarks, have an aversion for travelling and the English a love for it, both nations have a good excuse. Something better than England is everywhere to be found, but it is difficult to find the charms of France elsewhere. If, however, the Frenchman love to live at home his delight in the good things of the outer world is great. Seventeenth-century France, for example, was deeply interested in Chinese ceramics.<sup>1</sup> The porcelain which Dutch and Portuguese seamen brought from the Celestial Empire to Europe were more appreciated in France than elsewhere. In the pages of literature we discover the same. That typical Balzacian character, the Marquis d'Espard of "L'Interdiction", worked at "A picturesque history of China." And did not Gambara become excited at the mere mention of his great opera "Mahomet"? Voltaire gave us "Zadig," and the remark that the English were a people with seventy religions and only one sauce is characteristic of the man to whom dullness was a great artistic vice. Le Sage started on his career with two plays in imitation of Lope de Vega. The influence upon him of Calderon has been noted, but he was, nevertheless, among the earliest to realize the possibilities of the picturesque novel. Chateaubriand, Anatole France tells us, "was the first to infuse exoticism into poetry and make it ferment there." A sojourn in the East inspired Lamartine to his "Souvenirs d'Orient." De Musset attracted notice as the author of a volume of "Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie." "Local colour," Ferdinand Brunetière holds, "is a literary acquisition of romanticism." From the forbidding landscapes of the North Stendhal shrank as from a ghost. Gautier, who amused himself with the fantastic

<sup>1</sup>Compare Auber's "Cheval de Bronze" (a Chinese Subject.)

notion that he was an Oriental, wrote of his travels in Spain and Russia, Italy and Turkey with immense gusto. The de Goncourts gave encouragement to Japanese art. Flaubert's greatest achievement deals with the struggle between Rome and Carthage. Mérimée's début was made in strange literary disguise. His first products were supposed to be translations from the Spanish and Illyrian. "Carmen," the masterwork of the man who felt at home in an Andalusian *venta*, is appropriately laid in Spain, and yet Mérimée was typically French. (The point is curious. The epigrammatic Nietzsche, student of philology, who claimed that he and Heine were the only men who could make the German language dance, recorded the fact that the stylists of the old and new worlds, the Greeks and the French, opposed the introduction of foreignisms and guarded the purity of their tongues.) In Renan the fascination of the East is once more prominent. Daudet, "the *bouillabaisse*," prided himself on being a Southern troubadour. Through the pages of Pierre Loti we find exquisite word pictures of Japan and Turkey. And Anatole France, to whom we owe the "Noçes Corinthiennes," has shown in "Thaïs" what a great effect is produced upon the mind of a Latin artist when he contemplates the life of a far country in a remote period. Add to all this the vogue enjoyed by Lafcadio Hearn and you have abundant evidence that the French, while animated by a deeply rooted love of country, quickly become willing captives to the powers of the picturesque.

I have made this digression upon the literature of France, "a country where every man has a natural turn for the part of a sultan, and every woman is no less minded to become a sultana," because one can point to times during which the French regarded the words of a song as of primary, the music as of secondary importance—a reflection of the glory to which her literature had attained while yet her music lagged sadly behind. The music of France has been mainly dramatic, as that of Italy has been melodic and that of Germany symphonic, and the influence of the literary movements is often discernible in the sister art. Indeed, it is interesting to note that some of the outstanding characteristics of French literature are to be found in the music of the country. The wide use of the many adjectives of the language and the constant employment of its rich vocabulary find their musical counterpart in picturesque scoring and resourceful harmony. The manifestos of freedom, so often launched at the government of the day, have their equivalent in Berlioz's music of revolt. The choice of words for their atmospheric value

reminds us of the methods of the impressionist musicians. In France we behold an artistic phenomenon, namely, a keen appreciation of exoticism and a widespread exploitation of its capabilities which are for the most part freely indulged without the sacrifice of the traditional merits of conciseness, polish and clarity. An untidy mind is an abomination to the Frenchman.

For the purposes of this brief survey it is convenient to take Félicien David's "Le Désert" as a starting point. David recorded his impressions of the Orient in the only work of his which is now widely known. Something of its success is, doubtless, due to the variety which pervades the score. In it we find a "Prayer to Allah," a "Call of the Muezzin," and a "Dance of the Almées." The importance of the composition is largely historical. While experimental, the music cannot be ignored, for it must, surely, have been instrumental in encouraging many another musician to turn his attention to those captivating traits which are found in the East. Passing from David we come to Gounod, in whom the femininity which is so prominent in French music first becomes apparent. The heroines of Gounod and Massenet are as typical of the Latin mind as the heroines of Ibsen and Björnson are of the Scandinavian. They have little in common with the muscular Brunnhildes and terrifying Valkyries of the wind-swept North. Unfortunately Gounod put all that he had to say in "Faust," which the Germans wisely call "Margarethe," for "Romeo and Juliet," which tells us nothing new, should be called "Juliet and Romeo" if not simply "Reminiscences of Faust," and "La Reine de Saba" was a failure.<sup>1</sup> In Ernest Reyer there is more to occupy the attention. Born in Marseilles, he lived for a time in Algeria. A prolonged visit to the African province may possibly have been responsible for his choice of "Le Sélam," based on Gautier, as the subject of his most important work. Following later came "Sacuntala," a ballet, "Le Statue," and at a distance of some thirty years a setting of "Salambô."

Camille Bellaigue speaks of "la France historique et la France exotique," and both of them are found in full measure in the compositions of Saint-Saëns. On the one hand he is descended from the scholars and schoolmen to whom all musicians owe so much; on the other he is an indefatigable traveller who has expressed in his art the impressions made upon him by the life and poetry of many lands. A polymath, he is remarkable alike for the fecundity of his ideas and the versatility displayed in the gestation

<sup>1</sup>One can afford to disregard the Moorish-Spanish "Le Tribut de Zamora," which was a fiasco.

of them. In all his music there is a great deal of the Voltairean sauce, a liberal sprinkling of the *paprika* which Wagner found in Liszt. He is an extremely cultured man who draws his inspiration from the ends of the earth. "Samson and Delilah" I have already mentioned. "La Princesse Jaune" deals with a Chinese subject, and he has written Persian Songs, a Suite Algérienne, "A Night in Lisbon," a Jota Aragonaise, a Caprice on Danish and Russian Folk-themes, a "Souvenir of Italy," a "Havanaise," "Africa," a fantasia for pianoforte and orchestra, a "Caprice arabe," and a "Souvenir d'Ismailia." (In connection with the study of the local characteristics of such places as Algeria, Morocco, Corsica, Madagascar and China, it may be remarked, in passing, that many Frenchmen come to an examination of racial traits untrammeled by those prejudices which exist elsewhere. An outstanding instance of this attitude of mind is to be found, if memory serves, in Jean Finot's volume, "Préjugé des Races.") Among the songs are some which bear further witness to the catholicity of his tastes; for example "Alla riva Tebro," "Désir de l'Orient," "El Desdichado," "Guitare," and "La Madonna col Bambino." To the critic this chameleon-like adaptability so frequently exhibited is, at first, bewildering. In which of these pieces do we find the essential Saint-Saëns? In which is he wearing a mask and mystifying us by donning the costume of a Spanish grandee or that of an Arab chief? Whatever the answers we give to these questions it cannot be denied that the personal merits of Saint-Saëns are present in practically all his productions. In the "Suite Algérienne" there are points in the rhythm and harmony which could have been conceived only by a man who possessed a great command of technical resource. And, while the experiments are not all equally successful, the cleverness shown in the manipulation of external features contributes to that variety and freshness which are among the master's most valuable artistic assets. It is not without good reason that he has made the confession, "*Je suis un éclectique.*"

The main difference between the exoticism of Saint-Saëns and that of Massenet lies in the fact that, while that of the former is spread over a large variety of works in almost every conceivable form, that of the latter is mainly confined to his operas. The "Scènes Alsaciennes" and "Marche de Szabady" are not among the most characteristic of his achievements. As in the case of Saint-Saëns we are faced with an apparent problem. Massenet was French of the French. His song was personal, and other men have felt the influence of the *mélodie massenetique*. This

Anacreontic musician consecrated his gifts to a praise of the Eternal Feminine—or, as some hold, that aspect of it which is represented by modern France; a Gallic trait, surely, for good critics have observed that the *Comédie Humaine* is remarkable chiefly for its women folk. Take away the male characters of Massenet and you do not lose very much. Take away his heroines and there is nothing left. We are often conscious of the rose-pink of the boudoir, of the frou-frou and patchouli of the elegant world. One cannot repress the feeling that there is some subtle connection between this femininity and the orientalism so frequently displayed by the French. But if Massenet's harp had but one string it was capable of the sweetness of honey. His is music born in a land in which the worship of the Virgin is a natural thing, and it is curious to note how many of his dramatic works are called after their heroines—“Manon,” “Esclarmonde,” “Grisélidis,” “La Navarraise,” “Sapho,” “Thaïs,” “Thérèse,” “Ariane.” It has been urged against him that he was content with the mechanical exploitation of a single idiom, but the interest of all the operas is heightened by the introduction of passages full of luscious colouring and seductive charm. In the early “Le Roi de Lahore” we have the divertissement in the *Paradis d'Indra* with its quaint variations on a Hindoo theme. (These are preceded by a waltz-like measure. “What,” you say, “a waltz in such surroundings?” Have you not learnt that in the operatic Spain and the legendary India anything is possible?) In “Hérodiade” there is the clever dance of the Eastern girls. Passing “Manon,” that captivating opera of powder and patches, we arrive at “Le Cid” in which we again have the French composer indulging his love of the picturesque to the full. “Le Cid” is somewhat bombastic and does not show Massenet at his best, but in the Moorish rhapsody and the ballet of the Spanish provinces there is much that is delightful in subject and in treatment. Again, in “Thaïs” there is subtle fascination in the oriental intermezzo and in the ballet. “Cendrillon” carries us to the old world of Perrault with its fairies and Prince Charming, but when we open “Chérubin” we behold the composer coquetting once more with local colour—see, especially, the opening of the second act. These examples might be multiplied, but enough has been said to show that Massenet's imagination was stimulated by the importation of phrases and rhythms calculated to lend piquancy and interest to his works. It is a habit with many to talk of Massenet as though he were a kind of sous-Gounod. While he was a feminist and wrote in Paris, the home of Paquin as it was formerly the scene

of the triumphs of Palmyre, his gift was greater than that of his predecessor. In him we see proof of the statement that the local colour, that the exoticism which he loved so much was an external thing. His personal contribution to his art lies in those sweet and alluring pages in which he revealed himself. That his talent was dramatic and not symphonic should not blind us to the charm of his muse.<sup>1</sup>

In Edouard Lalo the musician will find much to admire. Lalo was not a great writer, and yet there is something peculiarly individual in his methods. The most prominent characteristics of his music, and they are very prominent, are a strong sense of colour, great rhythmical diversity, and considerable boldness in the modulations. I cannot understand why "Namouna" was not well received when given in Paris in 1881. The valse may be only a piece of refined dance music, spiced here and there with the unconventional touches native to Lalo, but the *Scène du Balcon* is a pure joy, full of originality in idea and the employment of it. The well-known *Symphonie Espagnole* is fascinating from the harmonic as well as the rhythmic standpoint. Lalo's harmony is worthy of serious study, for he obtains many of his best effects by means of it—a fact which did not escape Tschaikowsky.

It is necessary to dwell briefly upon one or two other composers. Bizet thought of writing an opera on the "Namouna" of de Musset and his widow informed me that he composed the music for three acts of "Le Cid" which he had not the time to write down. He wooed the East in "Les Pêcheurs de Perles" and "Djamileh." The former, an early work, bears traces of immaturity, but to the latter justice still remains to be done, for the score, in the words of Victorin Joncières, "exhales the perfume of the Orient." The opening chorus is full of an indolence and beauty such as one expects to meet with in Egypt, and if the unconventional Ghazel—a word familiar to students of Turkish and Persian literature—in which Djamileh tells a tale of love be weird and melancholy, the Almée is wild and fierce, suggesting the dancing dervishes of the Sahara. "Here," said Reyer, "is the true music of the East." There are other features in the little work which deserve attention, but they hardly come within the scope of this article. The music as a whole, nevertheless, stands as a kind of prophecy of "Carmen." "Djamileh" is the bud, "Carmen" the flower. Little wonder is it that Saint-Saëns celebrated its beauties in a sonnet and that Pigot described it as

<sup>1</sup>Perhaps a word ought to be said about Dulcinea's song with guitar accompaniment in "Don Quichotte."

"a little masterpiece, a pearl, a jewel." In "Carmen" there is, of course, much of the sunny South and it is instructive to observe the different views of critics as to the legitimacy of Bizet's use of Spanish themes. Some tell us that the central figure is merely an attractive French heroine masquerading as a manolo, that we are deceived by the balcony of the inn, the guitars and castanets, the fans and mantillas, the "*costumes bariolés*" which have so often formed part of the stock-in-trade of third-rate men; others write enthusiastically about the manner in which Bizet used his materials. The opera as an opera is thoroughly satisfying, but I cannot say whether the author of it ever studied Spanish and gypsy music seriously. The Habanera, it will be remembered, was a glorious afterthought, the melody having been suggested, if not actually derived ("*imitée d'une chanson espagnole*" is Bizet's description of the process) from a song of Yradier lent to Bizet by Madame Bemberg, mother of the composer. The piece would never have been written had it not been for a dissatisfied prima donna, a circumstance which calls to mind the origin of Rossini's *Di tanti palpiti*, than which no solo was ever received with more frenzied enthusiasm. A Spanish authority informs me that, while the merits of the music are recognized by Spanish musicians, these men do not regard it as really Spanish, as faithfully representing the popular idiom of the people. When all is said, however, one must admit that Bizet showed remarkable cleverness in handling exotic themes and in lending a dash of colour to his canvas.

There remains much of interest, but this must be merely mentioned. Bruneau's "Kérim" owes not a little to the researches of that tireless student Bourgault-Ducoudray. In Chabrier and Charpentier, Debussy, Roussel and Ravel there are pages which yield much to patient examination. And we discover a great deal that is wonderfully refreshing in the march of César Franck's camel drivers and the czardas and mazurka to which the corphyées and nimble rustics of Delibes dance and pose. To Gevaërt, to Louis Laloy (who has made a profound study of Chinese music) and to Jaques-Dalcroze (a commentator upon Arabic rhythms)<sup>1</sup> the French are deeply indebted. While the reader may protest that this survey has hardly brought him into contact with the greater aspects of France, with the society which walked abroad in the fair fields of Touraine and dined in the châteaux which flank the Loire, with the rich and bountiful life of the eighteenth

<sup>1</sup>See also the Arab influence in Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Antar."

century, with the thickly populated world of Molière and Dumas, he will, perhaps, admit that it has served to show how remarkable has been the French activity in this direction.

### GERMANY

The Germans have not exploited exoticism to any very great extent. His love of self-culture impelled the Hellenic Goethe to a serious study of the art of Greece and Italy, a task which bore fruit in the extraordinary "Gott und die Bajadere," a title which recalls Auber, and the "Westöstliche Divan," wherein the Olympic figure of the poet is to be observed dressed out in the loose trousers and fez of a Turkish pasha. Heine, too, had his Southern aspect, and so it is true to say that there was a *Drang nach Osten* in an artistic before a political sense. Apart from such compositions as Mendelssohn's "Scotch" symphony, Bruch's "Kol Nidrei" and Scottish Fantasia, the Bohemian Dvořák's "Nigger" quartet, "New World" symphony, Biblical Songs, Gypsy Songs (one of which, "Als die alte Mutter," is an exquisite jewel, and shows what can be done in a small compass) and Slavonic Dances, and D'Albert's "Tiefland," a curious congeries of styles, all of which can be traced to their sources, there is little to scrutinise.

The exception which proves the rule, and a brilliant exception it is, may be found in "The Barber of Bagdad" by Cornelius. This work has a great historical significance as those who know the inner history of Liszt's break with Weimar are aware. On its *début* Cornelius's little effort met with a hostility which is capable of misinterpretation, for it was really directed against Liszt and did not reflect upon the value of the music. It may be that the circumstances in which the opera was introduced have mitigated against its wide popularity. In any case, it is not so well known as it ought to be. Cornelius was obviously inspired by his subject. Although he was a prominent member of the New German School and had sympathies with the Wagnerian movement, there is much in his music which cannot be traced to Liszt or Wagner. The Bagdad of the composer is an attractive place, and the score with its call of the muezzin, comic sallies and lyrical episodes so deftly handled holds an unique place among the modern operatic works of Germany.

Paradoxically enough, the first man in whom we find exoticism freely used is the national Weber. Weber was influenced by the trend of his time. The literature for which he showed the greatest

fondness was largely preoccupied with the baroque and the fantastic, and there is little doubt that, as he possessed a considerable literary gift, he was moved to adopt a somewhat similar attitude towards his own art. For the writings of Tieck he nursed a profound affection. In "Preciosa," taken from Cervantes, there are effective passages which portray Spanish and Gypsy life. He considered Columbus and the Cid as subjects for dramatic treatment, and sketched some music for "Die drei Pintos."<sup>1</sup> The score of the Gozzi-Schiller "Turandot" gives us an interesting attempt at local colouring in the use to which he puts a Chinese theme. In "Oberon," Arabic and Turkish melodies are incorporated, and there are one or two scenes full of the *cachet* of the Orient.

Liszt, by birth a Hungarian, was by nature responsive to outward impressions. To name the compositions in which he displayed a sympathy with the poets of the past and an appreciation of scenery and architecture would be to name practically all his works. An examination of the music of Liszt in all its aspects would demand more space than can be allowed here, and this is not the place to debate the legitimacy, or otherwise, of his incursions into the fascinating realm of Hungarian music. It is necessary only to point out that no composer has been more easily touched by the artistic monuments bequeathed by the ages. The literature of France, the paintings and frescoes of Italy, the ritual of the church, the music of the German classicists moved him profoundly and went far to shape that halo of enchantment which surrounds his works. It is permissible to assume that the objects of a man's admiration provide an index to his character and, as is the case with Carlyle, so with Liszt, the heroes whose praises he sang give us an insight into the man's nature. His view of life was essentially heroic; to him most human endeavour was to be fitly expressed in musical terms as a *lamento* and *trionfo*, even when the latter was posthumous. To Dante, Petrarch and Tasso, great figures born in the cradle of the New Spirit, he looked with veneration. The famous episode of Mazeppa, which is variously told by the historians, ends confidently with the victorious strains of a Cossack march. He passed from one subject to another with astonishing ease, and in every case there is evidence of the breadth of his intellect, the bountiful generosity of his nature, the extraordinary catholicity of his tastes, and the whole-hearted delight which he took in gorgeous pageantry and

<sup>1</sup>This was dressed out by Gustav Mahler and produced at Leipzig.

effective decoration. After him Goldmark, a Hungarian Jew, has shown the most decided tendency to lay on thick colours. "Sapho" and "Sakuntala," to mention representative pieces, are the children of that opulent imagination to which we are indebted for several notable excerpts in "Die Königin von Saba"; though many will agree that the vivid hues are less cunningly handled here than they are in many French works and in "Aida."

Strauss has a Southern aspect. He has declared that sunshine is necessary for his inspiration. Early in his career he paid handsome tribute to the land of Dante in a suite, and subsequently devoted two of his most elaborate tone-poems to outstanding figures of Southern imagination, "Don Juan" and "Don Quixote." But the exotic Strauss is almost wholly unsatisfactory, as witness "The Legend of Joseph." Nowhere, I think, has Strauss so signally failed as in the "Dance of the Seven Veils" in "Salome." Here was an opportunity at which most of the French composers would have put all the colour and perfume of the East in their strains. Strauss's dance is neither Eastern nor particularly distinguished. The technical ability is squandered, for the effect is out of all proportion to the means employed. I am not discussing the value of the opera, which is quite another question. All I say is that the German master has not taken full advantage of the situation from the exotic point of view. In this connection it is instructive to compare the treatment of the subject as shown here and in Massenet's "Hérodiade." But if you wish to realize the wide divergence between the French and the German methods, you have only to think what the French would have done with "Parsifal." To begin with they would probably have called it "Kundry," and it needs but little effort to imagine how Massenet, say, would have treated the scene of the flower-maidens. In his art Wagner maintained a unity of style which was little, if at all, disturbed by change of *locale*. Like Balzac, he gave us himself and we have little reason to complain. But, while the *paprika* which he found in Liszt is lacking in his own music, it is possible to create a picture of Wagner, the Eastern poet, to which Velasquez or Munkacsy might well have put his signature. Several traits in the man's character remind us of the life of Bagdad. The voluptuary, sybarite, hedonist has been dragged into the light of publicity by painstaking critics. He was the first to write sex music. He delighted in rich colours and perfumes, and had a weakness for gorgeous surroundings and fine personal apparel. There does not exist unanimity of opinion as to the extent of his absorption in the philosophical pessimism of Schopenhauer, but

no one can deny his interest in Buddhism, in the works of Hafiz, "the greatest and most sublime philosopher," in the *Tattvamasi*; and additional light is thrown on this aspect of the man in the sketches for "Die Sarazenen" and "Die Sieger." The portrait, however, can be drawn only from the man's mental activity, from his prose writings and his speech. His music gives practically no hint of this side of him. It was that of one who drew his strength from Gluck, Beethoven and Weber, and it was made possible by those brilliant members of the European schools who laid the foundations upon which the edifices of the art are built.

Hugo Wolf heard a great deal of Italian music in his youth, was sincerely attracted by the French masters, and encouraged the hope that, perhaps, some Latin blood coursed through his veins. He seems, in this respect, to have been one of few. The average German intellect often finds it difficult to adopt the externals of other nations, and to this we must attribute the comparative want of success in the exotic vein. It lacks the vivacity and mobility of the French mind; to it caprice is a stranger. (This difference in outlook and in method has been remarked by many, but none has analysed it better than Matthew Arnold.) The strongest link between German and French music seems to me to be that Southern product, the Viennese waltz, which Marcel Prévost has aptly designated as having *une âme de femme*. But it stands as a thing apart. To how many German scores could we fitly apply the epithet *une partition parfumée*, so frequently employed to describe French works?

#### SPAIN.

The music of Spain is a music of the people. In the Middle Ages there were the *trobadores*, a name which suggests knight-errantry and romance. But even more interesting is the story of the *villancicos*, or peasants' songs, which, if more vulgar than the *romanceros*, were a true interpretation of real life. Music in Spain has developed slowly, a fact which is, perhaps, largely due to the limited capacity of the guitar and mandoline.<sup>1</sup> And so we find that, whereas with other nations the perception of music has become keener, the singing beggars of the streets are to-day the bards of Spain very much as they were in olden times.

This by no means implies that Spain is at all lacking in musical interest. The country furnishes many features which are without parallel in the history of other peoples. That more is

<sup>1</sup>There seems to be considerable difference of opinion on this point.

not known about Spanish music must be attributed to the facts that the country is cut off by the Pyrenees, and that the Basques who, like the adjacent Gascons, have jealously preserved their individuality as a race, are by nature secretive. As will be guessed by students, Spain is a country where the song is the dance and the dance is the song. Dr. Riemann holds that when music arrives at a certain point of development the gulf which separates it from poetry and dancing tends to become wider. This is not yet the case in Spain. It has always been natural for the Spaniard to express himself in movement, and the dances of the country tell us much of the history and temperament of the inhabitants. In the North the predominant influence is Basque; in the South there are traces of the Moorish occupation. Practically all this music can point to an ancient pedigree. The very names resound with a fine romanticism which conjures up in the mind the proud Spain of former days. There is the *jota*, a dance popular in Arragon and Navarre; the *rondeña*, originating at Ronda (compare the Scottish strathspey which takes its name from that district and the Serbian *nishevlyanka* which is derived from Nish); *el jaleo* is associated with Xerez; the *ole gaditano* is danced by the laughing girls of Cadiz; the *pollo* at Seville; the *malagueña del torero* came from Malaga. The *chaconne*, a word of uncertain derivation, and the *fandango* have now merely an historical significance. But more widely known than any of these are the *boleros*, *habaneras*, and *seguidillas manchegas*, the last of which are popular all over Spain. Among gypsy dances are the *zarandeo* and the *zorongo*. When we read of these dances, some performed in the village squares, others in the stifling, ill-lit cafés of Seville or Cadiz, we feel that they are far removed from the highly-organised music of middle Europe. And when their attitudes and accoutrements are added, the accompanying *pandero* and the clinking *castañetas*, the picture is rendered more complete. Spanish dances are of two kinds; the *danzas*, which are executed by the legs only, and others (popularly known as *bayles*, I believe) the evolutions of which necessitate the use of the entire body. The voluptuous grace of the *danse ensoleillée* has been made known by such artists as La Tortajada, La Guerrero, and La Otero, but it is said that a Spanish measure loses a great deal if not set in its natural surroundings. For these dances are often entirely an expression of the emotions, full of badinage and coquetry, the effect of which it is impossible to convey in a large theatre. Here the dance is a kind of love-motif and, being never far removed from the *odor di fama*, is invariably the portrayal of endearments,

jealousies and conceits, and is, in fact, a little drama of cloud and sunshine, frown and smile.

To lay peculiar stress on all this is not to deny that Spain can lay claim to some distinguished musicians. Several will, no doubt, be familiar to the reader, among them the blind Cabezón, called by some "the Spanish Bach," Santa María, Eslava, Morales, Vittoria and Ribera. We are too prone to imagine that all that Spanish culture stands for in the musical world is the Argentine tango and the Brazilian maxixe. The folly of this view is apparent to those who know that Spanish influence is discernible in Palestrina, and that the Spanish composers occupied a dominating position in the sixteenth century. In recent times there have been signs of a revival. Leaving out of account that Hoffmann-like figure, Sarasate, who filled our goblets with the Spanish vintage, and who, by means of the violin, the minx of the musical family and an instrument which has direct associations with vagabondage, won fame as an exponent of his country's music, there is much to arrest us. The work of Olmeda of Burgos is well-known. Isaac Albeniz has been faithful to the national idioms, as admirers of the celebrated "Triana," wherein he depicts this beautiful quarter of Seville, will testify. Granados won fame mainly with his "Goyescas," but he, like Albeniz, paints the Spain of the Spaniard in the alluring "Danzas." Pedrell is the critic of the young coterie, and Manuel de Falla, whose opera, "La Vida Breve," made such a deep impression in Paris and Nice, shows himself a true poet in those pieces, now languishing, now passionate, which have passed into the repertory of many pianists. The difference between his "Cubana," "Andaluza," and "Montañesa" and the "Iberia" of Albeniz lies, perhaps, in a divergence of personality rather than in any antagonism of artistic creed. To Joaquin Turina we are indebted for a clever suite which portrays the life of his native town, Seville.

Quite as remarkable as the compositions of these Spanish writers is the foreign music which has been inspired by Spain. It was in Arragon that Laparra collected the local colour for his "La Habanera," and tributes to the charm of Spain have been paid in Raff's "Rhapsodie espagnole" for the pianoforte, Glinka's "A Summer night in Madrid" and "La Jota Aragones," Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Caprice espagnole," Lalo's "Symphonie espagnole," Liszt's "Spanish Rhapsody," Chabrier's "España," Saint-Saëns's "Jota Aragones," "Caprice andalouse" and "Habanera," Gevaert's "Fantasia sobre motivos españoles," Ravel's "Rhapsodie espagnole," Debussy's "Une soirée en Grenade" and "Iberia,"

and Hugo Wolf's "Spanisches Liederbuch." All this makes plain the irresistible appeal which the song and dance of the humble peasant of Biscay and Navarre have made to many men of diverse temperaments.

From Spain to Morocco is no far cry and the permanency of the Moorish influence on music and ballad are proof of the artistic leanings of the Spanish Moor and may well lend colour to the belief that the native music of Morocco is not without its merits as a medium of expression, in spite of the fact that it is performed in unison with barbaric percussion accompaniment. When the Mohammedan invaders conquered Spain they brought into that country a superior civilisation, and, while they were mainly pre-occupied with science and philosophy, it was not in those spheres alone that the intellectual qualities of the race made themselves evident. To the excellence of their handiwork we owe the Alhambra of Granada and many a mosque of striking contour. To the care lavished on musical study by the Arab chiefs in Spain may be traced the African note in the songs and dances of the Mediterranean provinces. Many of the latter are held to be almost entirely Moorish in origin, and measures similar to the malagueña have been heard in Fez by travellers. In South America, so long associated with Spain, there is much music which lies buried. The Argentine, pundits assure us, possesses a vast amount of untapped material. Originally Spanish, the native melodies have gradually taken on a slightly different complexion due, no doubt, to the influence of the interminable plains upon the mind. We cannot reproach musicians who are not conversant with what is unwritten and merely passed from guitar to guitar in troubadour style. But one cannot contemplate the possible loss of this treasure to the world at large without a profound feeling of regret, especially when so many artificial pieces which exploit the familiar negroid syncopations are received with open arms. A South American tells me that when the Argentine Liszt or Tschaikowsky appears the world will behold the charm of the new-born song with amazement.

I have often, he says, while in the pampas, itched for the unpossessed power to seize and chronicle all the beauty of sound that sprang up spontaneously around me. If the day come when Argentine music is brought into the realms of art the guitar will have to be incorporated into the orchestra. To realise the infinite possibilities of the guitar one should hear it in the hands of the gaucho minstrels. A few of them together will give a fuller, richer, more varied effect than a balalaika orchestra in its most swollen proportions. The *vidalitas*, or folk-songs, are among the most haunting things in music.

To insist further upon the importance of Spanish music in an historical study would be an impertinence. To the humanist it is valuable because it is democratic, and thus brings him into contact with the life and society of a great past. I have spoken of the effect of the Moorish occupation, but there are apparent traces of orientalism in the wider sense in the South of the peninsula. The romance and sensuousness of the East are here blended with the traditional austerity and latent fire. The old houses of Toledo and of the villages of Andalusia, with their single windows overlooking the street, speak of a race which naturally regards life through the emotions. The furtive glance and passionate whisper, the cassia set coquettishly in the señora's hair, the rapturous strain with which the rustic Romeo serenades his Juliet—do they not all remind us of the time when the Saracen, turning his back upon Syrian wastes and Egyptian deserts, rode across the Sierra, bringing with him some of the mystery of his native landscape and thereby adding a note of strange enchantment to the Spanish Song?

#### ITALY

It is not until recent times that exoticism has made its appearance in Italian music, and this is due to the popular attitude towards opera. Where music was almost entirely operatic and opera for so long merely a necklace of arias and duets, composers, in the main, showed little disposition to avail themselves of their relative proximity to the artistic oases in which the French have so often sought refreshment. It is a gross error to reproach an Italian for writing Italian music and, while we may contend that in Bellini and Donizetti there is to be found an allegiance to conventions which amounts to weakness, the Southern nature of their melody cannot be denied. The student eager for the discovery of exotic traits will not, I fancy, discover anything particularly worthy of note in Rossini or Spontini. It is not until we come to Verdi that we meet with a sustained effort to use exoticism in an Italian opera. Verdi probably took considerable pains to paint his Eastern pictures well, for, it will be remembered, "Aida" was commissioned by the Khedive. The composer had an unique opportunity. The action takes place in the time of the Pharaohs; the scene is laid in Memphis and Thebes; there is much picturesque pageantry. The chorus in the Temple of Vulcan, accompanied by the harp, the Dance of the Priestesses and that of the Moorish Slaves, the curious theme which interrupts the march of the Egyptians, the tranquil music

by the Nile—all these are full of a beauty which we find nowhere else in the master's works. But the orientalism is spasmodic. The disguise is swiftly thrown aside. In *Celeste Aïda*, *Su del Nilo*, in the love-motif and in *O terra addio* the mask is thrown off and the passionate Italian bursts forth. I must warn the reader that I am not disputing the value of "Aïda," which is a work of genius. I am merely pointing out that here, once more, we have confirmation of the view that exoticism, even in the best of hands, is an accretion.

The later men were not slow to emulate Verdi the experimentalist. Puccini in "Madame Butterfly," Mascagni in "Iris," Leoncavallo in "I Zingari," Leoni in "L'Oracolo" have introduced many clever effects borrowed from distant lands, and, though the success is variable, the remarks applied to "Aïda" hold good in these cases.

#### HUNGARY

This is no place in which to deal with the origin of what is popularly termed Hungarian music, or to examine the arguments which this subject has called forth. For the present I must content myself with showing to what extent composers have plucked the Hungarian blossoms and added them to their garlands. I have said that exoticism is an accretion, but it seems least so when the musician is brought into close contact with the idiom which he adopts; when, in other words, the act of borrowing racial characteristics or local peculiarities is a spontaneous and unsophisticated mental process. We find this in Haydn. It is no disparagement to say that, apart from music, Haydn was a peasant. And no operation of the mind could have been more natural to him than that of turning to good account the rustic material upon which his eye rested. For this reason it is difficult to detect where the popular themes end and Haydn himself begins. But it cannot be too strongly urged that Haydn's music is valuable because the personality of the man permeates it. By virtue of his merits as a writer not a few of the folk-songs and dances which he used have come to our notice, which, had he ignored them, would probably never have travelled beyond their parochial boundaries. Many a man of third-rate powers might have fathered them, but it is doubtful if, in such circumstances, the music would have exhibited any great vitality. Haydn's borrowings from the store-house of the people's music were many. In him we find Slavonic characteristics and Croatian melodies, and there is a Rondo à l'Hongroise. Hungarian features are

also detectable in Beethoven's "King Stephen," in Schubert's *Divertissement à la Hongroise*, in Weber's Adagio and Rondo Ungarese for bassoon, in Berlioz's Rackoczy March, in Brahms's Hungarian Dances, in Delibes's "Coppelia," in Johann Strauss's "Fledermaus," in Massenet's "Scènes Hongroises" and "Marche de Szabady." The musical history of South Germany and Austria constantly brings us into touch with that of Hungary, and I do not doubt that this is due to the unquenchable love of the art which animates the Hungarian. There is much to be said against the system of patronage, but good seed was sown by those eminent patrons the Apponyis, Szapárys, Erdödys, and Esterházys, whose names we so often find in dedications, and to whom Liszt and others were frequently indebted.

#### RUSSIA

In modern times no country has made greater progress than Russia. That the Russians are only now evincing a sense of national consciousness is not a matter for astonishment. Indeed, what has been accomplished is little short of miraculous. In the time of Catherine II the Italian influence was paramount. Enthusiastic applause greeted Paisiello's works, and in so late a writer as Glinka we find passages which recall the manner of Donizetti. The charm of French music was felt subsequently—the "Dance des Mirlitons" of Tschaikowsky's "Casse-Noisette" suite might have been written by Delibes, and the scoring of "The Sleeping Beauty" owes something to Saint-Saëns and Massenet; in recent days the German manner penetrated the Tsar's domains. The emancipation of Russia (so far as that is possible in any country) is in course of accomplishment; that is to say, Russian musicians realise the immense resources of their own land and mean to draw upon them freely. The attention which the rest of Europe has given to this Eurasian art was kindled by the appearance of Tschaikowsky, by the tours of the excellent *corps de ballet*, of which only travellers had much previous knowledge, and by the frequent appearance on the concert platform of innumerable Sachas and Mischas, whose playing assured us that music dwelt in the very heart of the people. Within the limits which I have set myself it is impossible to do more than indicate the sources tapped by the chief representative men. Glinka put Tartar, Finnish and Persian airs to good use. Rubinstein's "Persian Songs" (op. 34.) are said to have been inspired by a meeting with gypsies in the Caucasus. Cui has written Circassian Dances,

Borodin a remarkable sketch, "In the steppes of Central Asia," Balakiref "Islamey," an oriental fantasia for the pianoforte, (which, if not played superlatively well, is one of the ugliest pieces of music one could listen to), Rimsky-Korsakoff an Indian Dance in "Mlada," Rebikov a "Danse des Odalisques" and a "Danse orientale," Glazounoff, who has a German aspect, an Arab Melody for the G string. Such quotations might be continued indefinitely, and other excerpts, for example, Rebikov's "Hindustani Natch" from "Autour du monde," the Dance of the Chinese Dolls from his "Der Christbaum," the Hindu song from Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Sadko" and Arensky's ballet "Nuit d'Egypte" deserve study.

In a place by itself is the ballet music incorporated by Borodin in his opera "Prince Igor." These Polovtsian Dances are full of untamed energy and, unlike the ballet airs of the old operas, form part of the vivid picture which this singular creation presents to the eye.

When listening to some of these Russian works we realize that music is often merely a kind of opium in the East. Western writers seek harmonic variety and kaleidoscopic changes, but the oriental mind is generally satisfied with the reiteration of one idea. Sound is here a kind of fakir's mesmerism, a sedative or opiate which affects the senses but has little or nothing to do with the intellect. The conflict of Orient and Occident produces curious effects. In one human organism we have, so to speak, a struggle between the Russian and the Tartar of the popular epigram. We are not concerned with the authenticity of the claim of this or that composer to the title of Eastern singer. It may be well to point out, however, that it oftens happens that, even when the Russian has learnt all that the Western schools can teach him, the result is bewildering. Where elaboration is superimposed upon naivety, where themes and rhythms associated with sistrum and tabrets, with samisen and tam-tam are transplanted to the modern orchestra, we stand in the presence of a new beauty, none the less real because it is so often pagan and barbaric. That Chinese dream, Stravinsky's "Nightingale," would, certainly, have delighted Tieck, the dealer in topsy-turveydom, who loved to laugh with mandarins and watch the pagodas of his imagination flit through the air. Even in symphonic works which owe their structure to the West,—and the modern Russians are much indebted to Berlioz and Liszt—we often happen upon passages which carry us away from the conservatoire to the village *Kermesse* by the banks of the Volga. To those accustomed

to Beethoven, Schumann and Wagner such music must frequently appear very inorganic. The melody is sometimes left to tell its own tale, as it were, where the training of the Western musician would have prompted him to cause the inner parts to move, and thereby strengthen the weak beats of a bar. When some of these pieces are performed along with more polished utterances we feel as though we were overhearing the halting talk of a *moujik* in a Rambouillet circle. But, when all the ink has been spilt, you are bound to admit that the colossal Janus of Russian music is an imposing figure. No country has musical potentialities greater than those of Russia, and to say this is not to imply that the achievement is not intrinsically valuable.

A word ought to be said about the orchestration of the Russian composers, a branch of the art in which they excel, for the reason that, by their constant striving after richness and brilliance, these men show that they possess something of the Eastern love of opulent colouring. Rimsky-Korsakoff's instrumentation is a pure delight. Even when his ideas lack originality he gives them a charm or character by the manner in which he scores them. To mention the works in which the handling of the orchestra shows a masterly knowledge of its infinite resources would be to catalogue nearly all the compositions of the best musicians.

#### ENGLAND

Whatever we may think of *la vie bohème* as portrayed by Murger, there is little doubt that the antics indulged in by the aesthetes of the Victorian age seem a little comical in these days. The Bohemianism of the artists who slept in attics and lounged about the purlieus of Montmartre represented an aspect of the artistic life of France. Such jolly roisterers, living what was at once a comedy and a tragedy, were descendants of the wild and fascinating François Villon, of the worldly scholars of Master Rabelais, of those adventurous spirits who provide suitable material for the romantic chronicler, and in whom we find courage and wit, love of wine and petticoat hunting. Rapscallion painters and tatterdemalion laureates are to be met with at many junctures in French history. But the only thing which can be said in favour of the movement anticipated by Pater and represented by Wilde is that it was a protest against Philistinism. Being artificial, it could not last, and before long the drooping sunflower died. Such activity would probably have been responsible for the

creation of several interesting works in France. The only musical result was "Patience," which derided the modern exquisites in the same way as Offenbach's "Orphée aux Enfers" held up to ridicule the pseudo-classical deities of conventional opera.

Britain is united to India and Egypt by close ties, but until a few years ago English composers showed little disposition to leave the beaten track. Their attempts to tickle our palates were comparatively few and timorous. Not one of them bathed in the Southern sun as Browning did. "The Mikado" is Japanese only on the surface. Among contemporary writers, nevertheless, there is much picturesque badinage. Elgar has a well-defined style of his own, but in "The Apostles" he has been able to forget the Handel-Mendelssohn tradition so completely as to introduce the shofar of the Mohammedan world. Delius deserves a whole chapter to himself, for he is very original, and in him we have a composer whose style is consistent even when he is gratifying his love of half-tints and creating the atmosphere of twilight. His sojourn in Florida and residence in France probably had a good deal to do with his mental outlook. A painter of rare charm, he occupies a niche of his own. Here and there, Cyril Scott, an impressionist, touches the borderland of the exotic, but for a profitable subject of analysis I should advise the musician to study the life and work of Coleridge-Taylor. His position is without parallel. The son of a West African native and an Englishwoman, he received his musical education in London. As the countless admirers of "Hiawatha" are aware, he struck a new note. Subsequently he tested the value of African and North American (indigenous) airs, and to his knowledge of them we probably owe some of his most arresting pieces. Coleridge-Taylor is a problem. The famous "Eleänore" is a true inspiration, but it might have been penned by half a dozen other men so far as the general style of the music is concerned. On the other hand, in pieces like "Hiawatha," "A Tale of Old Japan" and the African dances the African is prominent, and I think it a pity that he did not give a freer rein to his fancy and let his natural impulses lead him to the goal. What is conventional in his output could have been supplied by many men without a tithe of his imagination; what is African he alone could give. That he learnt much from the Germans is beyond doubt—his procedure is, of course, European—and his scoring shows a knowledge of the Liszt of "Les Preludes." But the plaintive accent is that which lends distinction to his finer moments, and for this sad, sweet, yearning song we must be grateful.

Another composer on whom attention may profitably be concentrated is Percy Grainger. Grainger is temperamentally antagonistic to pedagogy. To all that he does he brings a wholesome freshness which is rare in these days. It is ominous that this "Siegfried of the piano" is an eloquent advocate for Albeniz, Delius and Grieg, the cause of whose "Slätter" he has pleaded with a persistence which commands respect. In composing he is not fettered by the shackles of convention, but his unconventionality is that of the musician, not that of the novice. Many a conservative will, doubtless, regard his harmonic methods with disgust and frown upon his part-writing. But, ultimately, this clever musician wins you to his side. A large freedom stalks across his pages. His vision extends over the whole musical universe, and in many unfrequented places he discovers objects which move him to expression. Little escapes him, for he is quick to perceive the value of music as it is found among primitive races. The "Colonial Song" was inspired by Australia, his native country; the "Mock Morris" Dance is a study in the folk style written round the motto "always merry and bright"; the "Dance Song from the Faroe Islands" carries us to the far North. But perhaps his pre-occupation with the possibilities of various instruments is that part of his activity which bears most directly upon the present subject. He is interested in the percussion department and thinks that its capabilities have not yet been realised. He has turned his attention to the bass xylophone, the bass glockenspiel, to gongs and bells and advocates their use in chamber music. The "Random Round" is scored for voices, guitars, mandolines, mandola, piano, xylophone, celesta, glockenspiel, resonaphone, strings and wind. One version of the popular "Shepherd's Hey" contains a part for the English concertina, and in the "Zanzibar Boat-Song" he employs the celesta, glockenspiel and resonaphone. Elsewhere he has utilised the American organ. It is characteristic of him that, when a student, he thought of going to China in order to study the music of that country; it is equally characteristic of him that he has written of the chants of the Maoris with zest. He is continually sweeping away the cobwebs of obscurantism and, on account of his searches for new colour effects and striking harmonic combinations, is entitled to rank as one of the most successful opponents of Doctor Dry-as-dust.

The most persistent upholder of exoticism which England has ever produced is Granville Bantock who is something of a wild pagan in his art. In all he touches there is much of the grotesque and

baroque, and he is not afraid of the bizarre. His best-known work is "Omar Khayyám," which opens with the call of the muezzin from the minaret, *Allahu Akbar!* and which, apart from its exquisite colouring, is remarkable for such unconventional passages as the passing of the caravan. Here we have the music of a modern wizard. A Turkomani melody is sung, at first *a bocca chiusa*, while the orchestra confines itself to the persistent repetition of chords. Bantock's reputation rests upon a large number of works, for he has been prolific and successful. His fondness for subjects which offer wide scope for his whimsical fancy and imaginative gifts showed itself early in his career. He planned a series of symphonic poems on Southey's "Kehama," but of this huge Egyptian edifice only one part—"Rameses II"—was built. Then there are "The Fire Worshippers," "The Pearl of Iran," Songs of the East in six groups—India, Japan, Persia, Egypt, China and Arabia, and "Christ in the Wilderness," which contains a page or so of Eastern landscape painting. "Thalaba the Destroyer," a tone-poem, occupies an important place among his compositions, but where the pen of the creator has been so busy it is difficult to play the cicerone to the curious reader. I must refer him to the "Ghazals of Hafiz," "Ferishtah's Fancies," the Sappho Songs, the "Song of the Genie" (a remarkable fragment), the "Eastern Love-Song," the two Chinese Songs, "On Himalaya" and the Dramatic dances for orchestra. Bantock's success as an exponent of exotic subjects owes something to his prodigious technique. He handles the orchestra with great ease; there is no shade of which it is capable that he cannot obtain if he wish. In him I seem to discern the inevitable protestant against the conventional subject and the conventional treatment. In choice of theme he stands apart from his *confrères*. He reminds us of a gypsy who, despising the high-roads of commerce, seeks in hill path and rustic lane that freedom which is necessary to his happiness. Technically and temperamentally he is a man of to-day, or, rather, of to-morrow. And this musical Suleiman the Magnificent is never so pleased as when walking abroad in the caftan of a sultan or smoking a chibouk in the fairy palace of his dreams.

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Much more could be said on this subject, so I ask the reader to pardon me if I have provided escort only for a hasty promenade

through these musical galleries.<sup>1</sup> A hundred points here untouched upon will suggest themselves to the imaginative mind. It is easy to discover pages which throw fresh light on the topic, or which threaten the destruction of our theoretical scaffoldings. On Mac-Dowell's "Indian" suite, Stillman-Kelley's "Aladdin" suite, on Karg-Eler's "Sonatina exotique," on Georges Hué's "Croquis d'Orient," on Paderewski's "Manru," on Moszkowski's superficial Spanish Dances, the foreignism of which is only skin-deep, on "Les Filles de Cadix" of Delibes, on his "Lakmé," wherein we see the *école des flonflons* in Hindustani, on Grieg's dance for Anitra, the Bedouin chief's daughter, so effective after the northern lament for Åse, the student will have many things to remark. He might, further, reproach me for not discussing the romantic and the realistic methods of treating exotic themes, and for having neglected to mention the music of Albania and Armenia which such a piece as Ippolitov-Ivanow's "Rhapsodie arménienne" calls to our attention. But I shall leave the matter with the statement that the popularity of exotic subjects is to be found in the simple explanation that they furnish a legitimate reason for the utilisation of all those variegated effects obtainable in the modern orchestra. While the trait adopted, a peculiar scale or an unusual rhythmic singularity, may be foreign, the colours in which it is set out are now an indispensable part of the modernist's equipment, and they are drawn upon even when the local characteristics are discarded. It is not enough for the composer that the lines of the figure are beautiful. He is fastidious as to the hues in which it is to be clothed. This fact is of vital moment, for we have arrived at a time in which it is necessary to consider the scoring of a work not as a thing apart from its harmonic dressing, but as something intimately related to it. Most present-day writers think in terms of the orchestra. This makes plain why many a passage which seems to be little removed from nonsense when played on the piano is not only significant, but eloquent when performed on the instruments for which it was written. As has been shown, the net results vary according to the methods of the artist. We cannot always say with Taine, "Oriental poetry has nothing more dazzling or magnificent." The pilgrimages of this man lead to success, of that to failure. In many cases the picture is not *vécu*, but it is a question whether we should

<sup>1</sup>For example, one might point to the growing popularity of Muscovite and Oriental subjects—the latter apparent in the chocolate coloured nudes of the Paris Salon, a reminder of the influence of Gauguin. This popularity is responsible for a change in the conception of beauty, which is always a relative thing.

expect a composer to be an expert archæologist and antiquarian. Gautier and others doubtless often offended history and science while giving us literature, and many painters have depicted biblical characters arrayed as gentlemen of their own period. The artistic temperament and the capacity for historical research are seldom found in the same man and all we can demand is that the composer should use his materials with discretion.

The study of exoticism transports us to strange scenes and new pastures. It shows us the gay science and *morbidezza* of the South. It tempts us to follow the track of the musical Borrovian who often shuns the spacious avenues laid out by the Haussmanns of the art. It compels us to set sail with Vanderdecken upon angry seas, for the man of ideas is never completely at rest. But such voyages, if fraught with dangers, put us in possession of a store of knowledge which we may seek in vain elsewhere.



